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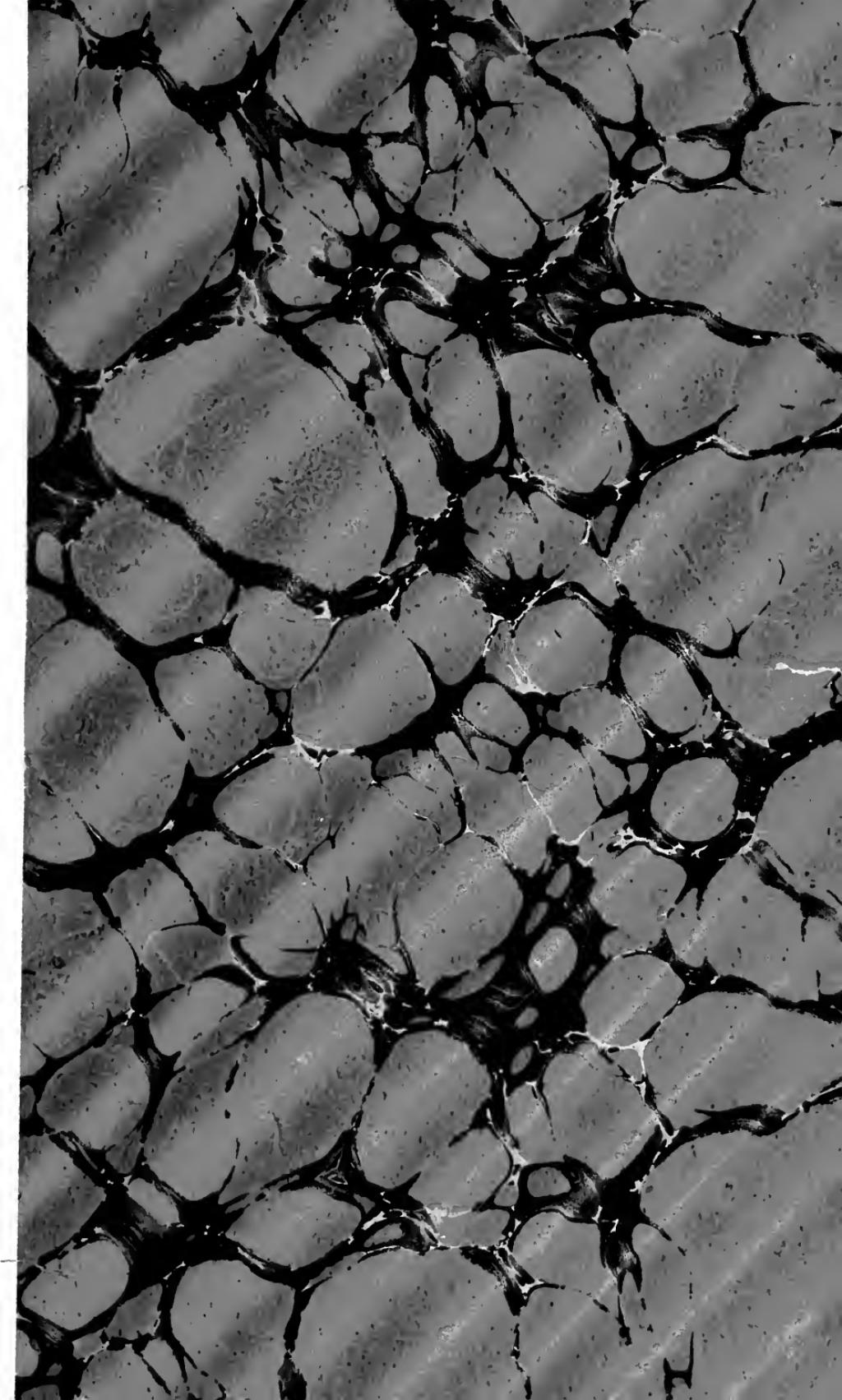
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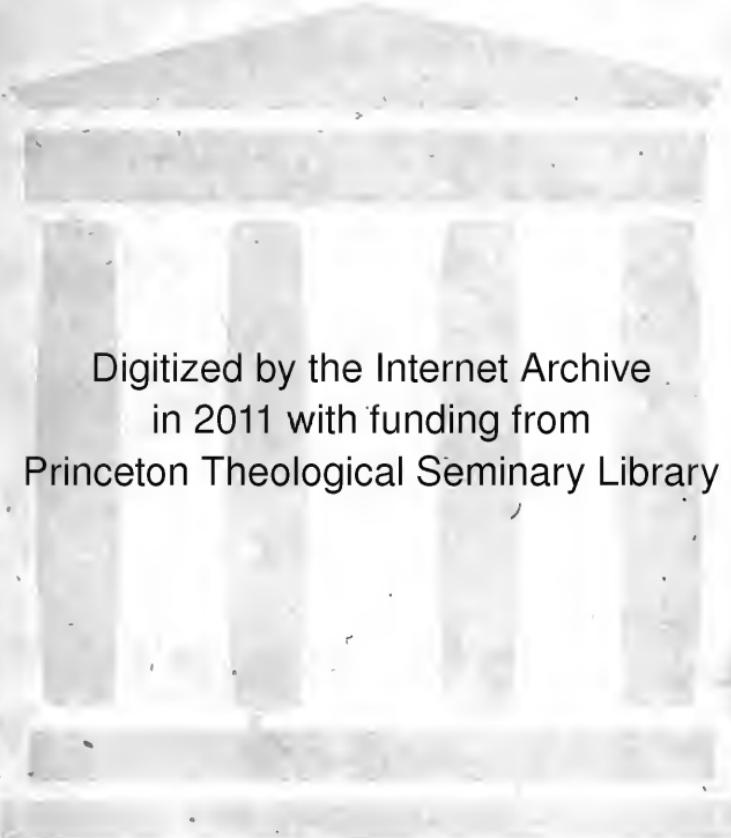
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2 YEAR EM

FIVE PAPERS,

1. "The Greek Testament of Westcott & Hort"
From "The Presbyterian Review," April 1882
2. "The Canon of the New Testament in the Second Century"
[Privately Printed].
3. "The Canonicity of 2nd Peter"
From "The Southern Presbyterian Review" January 1883
4. "Dr. E. A. Abbott on the Genuineness of 2nd Peter"
From "The Southern Presbyterian Review" April 1883
5. "The Post-Exilian Genealogy of Christ"
From "The Presbyterian Review" April 1881.

By

Benj. Breckinridge Warfield

Professor in the Western Theological Seminary at
Allegheny, Penn.



ЛІТЕРАРНЕ

letter to him, to which he replied, "I
will not speak to you
unless you do not speak to me." A
few days later, he was seen in the
company of a man who was identified
as a member of the ^{Communist} Party.

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~~1000 feet of sand 1000~~

the next 2 days will be spent
at the camp.

VI.

THE GREEK TESTAMENT OF WESTCOTT AND HORT.*

FTER twenty-eight years of preparation, the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament was at length given to the world in May last, followed in September by an Introduction discussing the principles of text criticism, and an Appendix comprising, among other important matter, a much needed series of notes on select readings. Long expected as it was, the reception which the published work has met with has been unprecedented among books of its class. It has not merely been greeted by critical journals, but it has been extravagantly lauded and extravagantly condemned by publications of purely popular character. So that, thus, a work which ordinarily would have passed silently to the shelves of specialists, has sprung suddenly into the notice of the general reader, and has, in this new sphere, made parties and raised wordy strife on subjects hitherto alien to its whole thought. This remarkable reception is due partly, doubtless, to the accident of the time of its appearance—the Text; just when men were looking eagerly for the publication of the Revised English New Testament,† and their minds were full of the textual problems necessarily brought before them in connection with that work, and the Introduction, just when the disputes concerning those problems and the proper methods of solving them were at white heat. It is due also partly, doubtless, to the excellent advertising which, prior to the publication, was given to the forthcoming work. Nearly every English writer on the subject has,

* THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ORIGINAL GREEK, the text revised by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., and FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. [Vol. I.] TEXT, [Vol. II.] INTRODUCTION, APPENDIX. Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co., 1881. In the American edition (New York: Harper & Bros., 1881 and 1882) an "Introduction to the American edition, by Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D." (pp. v.—lxxxvii.), is prefixed to the first volume.

† It was published five days before the Revision.

for a term of years, pointed to its coming as a boon in store for us; so that men's minds have been on a stretch with expectations which they were eager to see fulfilled. It is undeniable, however, that it is also due partly to the character of the text which has been found on publication to be contained in and defended by the new volumes. Naturally enough it has been looked upon as a gage thrown down in defence of the main principles adopted by the Revision Committee; and, naturally enough, it has, therefore, only poured oil on the already blazing controversy, and has called forth praise or condemnation according as it fell in with previously held principles or rubbed already abraded sores of prejudice. Thus, for instance, on the one hand, the *Quarterly Review*,* "with regret records its conviction that these accomplished scholars have succeeded in producing a text vastly more remote from the inspired autographs of the Evangelists than any which has appeared since the invention of printing"; while, on the other, the *Church Quarterly Review* thinks that "all students of the New Testament must hail with delight the appearance" of a text which, having been framed "with a splendid patience, which is at once an example and an encouragement to younger scholars," presents "the New Testament in the form most approaching the original autographs which is accessible."† Other journals range themselves on one or the other of these sides with more or less enthusiasm.

It is, therefore, clearly worth our while to turn aside for an hour from more attractive subjects to ask after the truth here, and seek to know just what the principles expressed by Dr. Hort‡ are, and just what kind of text has been formed from them. It may affect the expectations with which we enter on this inquiry to know that, among previous inquirers, the opinions of those of critical judgment are pretty much all one way;§ but this cannot exonerate us from

* October, 1881, p. 391 (supposed to be by Dean Burdon).

† July, 1881, pp. 514 and 519.

‡ The Introduction, though expressing the common views and conclusions of the editors, is yet from the pen of Dr. Hort.

§ Dr. Schaff (Introduction to American edition, p. viii.) thinks that this work presents a more ancient and purer text than any other edition. Dr. Ezra Abbot believes (*Sunday School Times*, Nov. 5, 1881) that it will mark an epoch in the history of New Testament criticism. Dr. William Sanday (*The Expositor*, October, November, December, 1881, and *Contemporary Review*, December, 1881) enthusiastically advocates it. Dr. William Milligan (*Catholic Presbyterian*, September, 1881) plainly likes it. From Germany we have seen but two brief statements: one from Hilgenfeld, who merely mentions it as a "noteworthy edition" (*Zeitsch. für Wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 25, II., p. 212), and the other from Dr. Von Gebhardt (*Novum Test. Grace*, etc., Tauchnitz, 1881, pp. vi. and vii.) who believes that the new edition "novum certo et inexpectatum his studiis emolumentum afferet," and "omnibus quotquot adhuc publicatae sunt editionibus eo praestat quod ad testimonia in diversas quasi classes discribenda et

the task, but rather renders it the more incumbent that the investigation shall be careful and the exposition clear.

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT.

Before, however, we enter upon this our proper task, it will be well to take a general review of the history of the printed text of the New Testament in order that we may see clearly just where the new editors take up the task,—with what basis of established fact behind them and with what unsettled problems before them. The printed text of any work which has been previously propagated for a considerable period in manuscript usually passes through three stages: an *editio princeps* is published,—then, some one edition acquires a circulation and acceptance which gives it the position and authority of a “*received text*,”—and then, critical editions are framed and published in the effort to amend the received text into nearer conformity with the autographs. This is the legitimate course of history. For, the first edition is naturally printed from whatever MSS. lie nearest at hand; and a text becomes the received text usually not from any peculiar purity that belongs to it, but from some commanding external quality,—such as the beauty of its presswork or the convenience of its form,—which wins it popular favor. In a much-read work, this stage is, naturally, reached early in its printed history, before any important critical amendment has been undergone. Hence, as knowledge is acquired of older and better MSS. than those which accidentally fell into the way of the editor of the first edition, it becomes necessary to prepare critical editions. There must, therefore, result a striking peculiarity of procedure in the preparation of a pure edition of such a text, as distinguished from that of a work which was first published in a printed form: in the latter case the first edition is commonly the standard to which all others (*reprints*, therefore,) should conform,—in the other, as the representative, ordinarily of the latest and therefore presumptively the most corrupt MSS., it is the standard of that from which subsequent editions should diverge. This is peculiarly true of a work which has been very popular during a long period of existence in MS. and has lost none of its popularity by being put through the press. The one circumstance secures the rapid multiplication of MSS. and consequently rapidly growing corruption; the other, the early formation of favorite passing into received texts, fixing the early corruption.

acute dijudicanda certa cum ratione et tanta prolixitate quanta antehac a nemine, ibi adhibita est *textus historia*.” Journals for 1882 were received too late for mention here.

It is not strange, therefore, that just such a history has been wrought out by the text of the New Testament. Its *editio princeps* (Erasmus, 1516), hurried through the press at break-neck speed in the effort to forestall a rival edition (the "Complutensian Polyglot") known to be already printed and ready for distribution, was simply a printer's speculation and was taken from almost contemporary and utterly unsatisfactory MSS. without attempt at critical revision. It was doubtless only a printer's device that it bore on its fore-front, its boastful title-page; its editor was certainly free to confess in private that it was "precipitatum verius quam editum." Yet it was this text that was, without important alteration, gradually hardened into the Received Text, through the magnificence of Stephens' "*Editio Regia*" (1550) and the convenience of the small Elzevirs (1624-33). Though it reigned, therefore, as by prescriptive right for centuries, it is clear that the circumstances of its formation can lend it no authority; and even were we to frame, as our final text, one practically the same, it would necessarily be "non propter Receptum sed cum Recepto." After it had been once established, however, as the Received Text, men were a long time in learning this. Although preparations for critical editions began as early as 1657 (Walton's Polyglot), yet the bondage of the Recepta was not completely shaken off until the appearance of Lachmann's New Testament in 1831. The history from 1657, therefore, falls naturally into two periods: that of bondage to and that of emancipation from the Recepta, divided at 1831. Lachmann thus marks an epoch, and criticism owes him a debt which can be scarcely estimated, as the bold spirit who at last actually made the step so long prepared, of shaking off the shackles which so clogged it as to render a really critical edition impossible. The result of this step was to introduce the age of editions founded no longer on tradition but rather on critical principles, so that, varying the phraseology, we may say that 1831 separates the periods of preparation for, and of publication of, critical editions. The text which Lachmann actually published, however, was unsatisfactory: it was intended by him as preliminary to further criticism, and the material for framing a satisfactory text was not yet in the hands of scholars. So then we may say with equal truth that the preparation for criticism really continued until the days of Tischendorf and Tregelles. And there is obvious propriety as well as convenience in considering the later editions of Tischendorf and the one great edition of Tregelles as marking the first issue of really critical editions,—and even in remembering that these (as combining with the text much valuable new

matter in prolegomena and digests) were preparations for future criticism as truly as critical editions themselves.

In this long-continued preparation was included the pressing of three separate lines of labor, issuing in: 1. The collection of documentary evidence for the text; 2. The classification of this increasing material; and 3. The formation of critical rules for the application of the evidence in the final reconstruction of the text. It is clear that no text at all worthy of the name of critical could be formed until the mass of evidence was collected; and just as clear that the value of the text actually framed would depend on the soundness of the work done in the other lines.

1. The work of collecting the material, heralded by Stephens and Beza, began in earnest with Walton's Polyglot (1657). The great names in this work are such as Archbishop Usher, John Fell, John Mill, in whose hands the collected various readings already amounted to 30,000, Bentley and his employés, Wetstein who made nearly as great an advance on Mill as he had done on his predecessors, especially in the matter of detailed accuracy and completeness, Matthaei, Alter, Birch and his compeers, Griesbach, Scholz, Tischendorf whose editions of MSS. "exceeded in number all that had been put forth before him," Tregelles and Scrivener. Until Tischendorf's labors were undertaken, from insufficient knowledge of material alone satisfactory editions of the Greek Testament were impossible. Now, however, we have, accessible to all, accurate editions or collations of a great number of documents, including all of great age that are known, and a sufficient number of all ages to furnish material for blocking out with accuracy the history of the text. The exceeding modernness of our accurate knowledge of the contents of even the most essential documents seems to be hardly realized by scholars at large; it is made plain to the eye by a table given at the end of § 18 of Dr. Hort's Introduction. Let us only remember that \mathfrak{A} was not published until 1862, and B not adequately until 1868, while the present satisfactory editions of C. Q. D. D₂. N. P. R. Z. L. Ξ . E₂. P₂. have all been issued since 1843. One sixth century MS. of Matthew and Mark— Σ —was only discovered in 1879*; and thirty-four leaves (palimpsest) of an eighth or ninth century MS. of the Gospel were brought to light in 1881.† So that we do not even yet know all that may be in hiding for us. But we have at least reached this position: now, for the first time, we can feel sure that we have a sufficient body of evidence of all

* In Southern Italy, by Harnack and Von Gebhardt.

† In Great Britain, by Profs. Mahaffy and Abbott.

kinds before us to render possible the sketching of the history of the written text in a somewhat close and accurate manner, and to certify us that new discoveries can but enlighten dark places and not overturn the whole fabric.

2. It was inevitable in the first and earliest stage of the science, that all documents containing evidence for the text should be treated as of practically equal value. We can hardly blame Erasmus, that he set aside the readings of the only good MS. he possessed, because it differed from the rest. Nor is it difficult to understand why Stephens' collations rather ornamented his margin than emended his text; nor why the earlier editors printed the usual text unchanged, and relegated their MS. readings and their infirm conclusions from them alike to the Appendix or Prolegomena. By Mill's time, however, the mass of material was already too great to be manageable when treated in separate units, like a pile of sand; and his study of it was too intense and his mental vision too acute for him to fail to see signs of agglutination in the particles. Bentley seized these hints, and drawing a broad line between the old and the recent copies, proposed to set forth an edition framed out of the agreement between the ancient MSS. of the Greek original and those of the Latin Vulgate. The really telling work in this department was not, however, to be done on English soil. John Albert Bengel was the first who, with zeal and earnestness, set himself to the classification of documents according to their text-affinities. He saw clearly that if they could be arranged in affiliated classes, the science of textual criticism would be greatly simplified: the individual variations of document from document within the bounds of the same class would be convicted of an origin later than that of the class itself, and the class variations of family from family would alone deserve consideration. Thus a large number of variations would be eliminated at the outset, and the determination of the text be made comparatively easy. With no less of acumen than of patience, Bengel attacked his task. Collecting all the various readings of each document, he compared each of these lists with all the others, and thus sought to discover its relations, and so laboriously to construct his families. The result was to follow Bentley in drawing a broad line of demarcation between the ancient and the more modern copies under the names of the African and the Asiatic families, and to make the new step of dividing, in a more shadowy manner, the African family itself into two, represented respectively by A (which was practically the only purely Greek uncial at that time known) and the Old Latin version. In his opinion

also, as in Bentley's, the African class was of supreme value; and it was a critical rule with him that no Asiatic reading was likely to be genuine unless supported by some African document. Semler followed Bengel, and handed down his classification to Griesbach, who tested and modified it into harmony with the advancing knowledge of documents, and handed it on, commended anew by his genius and scholarship. According to their text Griesbach found the documents of the Gospels to fall into three classes, the first two of which, no matter when the documents themselves were written, presented a text which was at least as old as the third century, but the third of which contained a text not older than the fourth or fifth. He called these classes: 1. The Alexandrian, represented by B* C L, 1,33,69, Memphitic, etc. 2. The Western, represented by the Græco-Latin codices, the old Latin, etc.; and 3. The Constantinopolitan, represented by A E F G H S, cursives, etc. A somewhat different distribution of documents was necessary for the other portions of the New Testament; thus A rose to the more ancient classes after the Gospels. And a long list of intermediate texts was given; it was held, indeed, that no document preserved any one text uninjured. A misunderstanding—shared in part by Griesbach himself—of the bearing of these two facts (which simply proved that the typical texts had suffered severe admixtures with one another in framing our existing documents), went far in throwing doubt on the details of Griesbach's distribution, and thus in preventing an universal acceptance of it, although it could not hide its true character from the best scholars of the day, many of whom enthusiastically adopted it. Hug's vagaries, who sought to prove historically that three texts represented respectively by the groups B C L, E R cursives, and A K M were alike set recensions of a corrupt text (represented by D and the old Latin) universally current in the second century, still farther blinded men to the reality of the divergence, considered simply as a text phenomenon, between the three classes recognized by Griesbach and Hug alike, as well as to the truth of the important new fact brought out by Hug, viz: the early broad extension and popularity of Griesbach's Western text. Hug's publication had, however, the good effect of bringing Griesbach once more before the public on the subject (1811), to call attention to Hug's testimony to the correctness of the lines which he had drawn between his classes, prove the impossibility of raising Hug's fourth class (which he himself admitted was untraceable outside the Gospels) to the dignity of a co-ordinate division, and reiterate his mature con-

* Except in Matt., where he (wrongly) deemed it Western.

viction that the study of "recensions" was the hinge upon which all criticism of the text must turn. The follies of such writers as Dr. Nolan and the peculiarities of Scholz succeeded, however, not unnaturally, in throwing discredit on all recension theories, until they have fallen under something like a ban, and the prevalent idea seems to be that no classes can be distinguished of such sort as to be, at present at least, practically valuable in text reconstruction except the two broad ones—now universally recognized—of ancient and modern. At the same time it is generally practically acknowledged that the further facts of type-character as brought out by Griesbach, although not available in text-criticism, yet rest, in the main, on a basis of truth. Even Dr. Tregelles* would admit a genealogical descent, which he moreover practically acted upon in framing his text, which divides the MSS. into three classes corresponding with those of Griesbach. And, at the other extreme, Dr. Scrivener specifically allows a like trichotomy of documents capable of bearing like names.† It is furthermore admitted on all sides that the oldest documents are included in the first two classes; and, as a result of the process of comparative criticism introduced by Tregelles, that these documents are not only the oldest, but also the best, so that whenever they are fairly unanimous they must carry our suffrages with them. It is hardly less generally agreed that within the ancient division those documents which class with B—which itself is the best single MS.—are of greatly higher value than those which class with D. These conclusions—although not undisputed by some individuals—are accepted by the best writers of all schools, and may, therefore, be looked upon as well-proved and already settled facts.

3. Meanwhile, also, the continued efforts of many scholars toward forming a text out of the existing material were issuing in critical rules for applying the evidence to the text. We can pause only to point out the leaders in the work. Bentley first laid down the great principle that the whole text is to be formed apart from the influence of any edition, on evidence,—a principle which, obvious as it is, first succeeded in conquering its way to practical and universal adoption through the weight of Lachmann's example. It was due to Bengel that the value of transcriptional probability received early recognition through the rule: 'Proclivi scriptio*n* præstat ardua,' which undoubtedly he meant in this sense; after him it has been more fully defined

* "Horne's Introduction." Ed. 13, Vol. IV., p. 106.

† "Plain Introduction," etc. Ed. 2, p. 481 (Egyptian, Western, and Syro-Constantinopolitan classes). Yet compare p. 415.

and defended by many critics, especially by Griesbach, by Tischendorf (in the broad statement that the reading is to be preferred from which the origin of all the others can be explained), and by Ellicott (under the name of *Paradiplomatic* evidence). Internal evidence proper also,—the asking which reading it is most probable that the author would have written—has not lacked its full recognition, and has been pushed by some to the verge of subjecting the whole text to the personal idiosyncrasies of the editor. Since Tregelles the suffrages of students have been given to the doctrine that documentary evidence is decisive, if at all capable of sure interpretation,—so only the reading commended by it does not make nonsense. But the claims of *paradiplomatic* and internal evidence have never lacked defenders of excellent scholarship, and it cannot be said that any universally recognized rule has yet been formulated to guide in cases where documentary and internal considerations seem in conflict. While also the tendency has been more and more to rely on the *ancient* documentary evidence and its decisive authority where at all unanimous, is now universally (save by an erratic individual here and there) allowed, yet in those passages where this evidence is apparently somewhat divided the way has been open to a great variety of methods of procedure issuing sometimes in diametrically opposite conclusions even in readings of some interest.

A backward glance like this over the work that has been done, leaves standing clearly out in our consciousness the problems as yet unsettled. It was clearly not necessary for the new editors to seek to add to the mass of evidence before them; the day has now come when the true estimation of that evidence is the duty laid on the shoulders of scholars. Two great tasks lay before them: the investigation of the true extent and meaning of the affiliations of MSS., and the pointing out of the true method of applying the evidence when marshalled to the framing of the text. It was not enough to classify the MSS.; the true relations of the classes to one another needed study, and the true value of the evidence of each class. Therefore, here, not only was it necessary to re-examine the whole distribution of the MSS. into classes, but also the relations of the classes to one another had to be investigated with a view to accounting satisfactorily for the intermediate types on the one hand and to assigning its own value as evidence to each class and each combination of classes on the other. It was not enough to simply marshal the evidence—it was necessary to discover how to apply it when marshalled; with how much regard to each variety of evidence, documentary, paradiplomatic, and internal. With great sagacity,

Drs. Westcott and Hort recognized from the very first the true nature of their task, and devoted themselves to fulfil it. Our examination of their methods need take account, therefore, only of the results which they have reached in these two departments of labor.

THE GENEALOGIES OF DOCUMENTS.

We turn next, therefore, to an exposition of Dr. Hort's investigations in the great sphere of MS. classification. The obvious and universally accepted two-fold division of documents as to their text, represented by the ancient MSS. and the cursives respectively, is of course recognized by him at the outset. The important unsettled question of the relation of these two texts to one another is, therefore, faced immediately. It is first proved, from the citations of the fourth century fathers, that the cursive type of text existed fully formed in that century, *i. e.*, in MSS. contemporary with B and **N**. Thus, the mere fact that our only extant fourth century MSS. represent the opposite forms of text is not at all conclusive as to the greater age of those forms. We can reconstruct from the cursives MSS. which beyond doubt existed, representing their type, in the fourth century; and the preservation of early documents representing the one class and not of those representing the other, is a pure accident. Thus far, therefore, nothing is determined concerning the comparative age or value of the two forms of text.* Going back beyond the fourth century, however, no

* It is worth our while at the outset of this discussion to guard against misconceptions as to the meaning of the phraseology used. We speak of different types of text, and the words have meaning in them. It is very important, however, that the reader should not exaggerate that meaning. The total difference is very small. What is very large when viewed from the point of view of the textual critic, is pitifully and meaninglessly small when viewed from the point of view of the dogmatic theologian or the general reader. The textual critic does not exaggerate the difference; but every letter omitted, every word misspelled, every synonym substituted is a difference to him, although the vast majority of them cause no change of sense in the passage by their presence or absence. They are nevertheless—though only *textual phenomena*—yet *textual phenomena*. And on their basis types and well-marked types of text may be recognized and described. To juggle with this, however, as the *Quarterly Reviewer* has done (p. 314), trying to shift it into another sphere and pouring into the terms totally alien concepts, is beneath the dignity of the scholarship which he undoubtedly possesses. Dr. Hort (§ 2) is careful to show how small a part of the N. T. is affected by various readings of any likelihood. And the statement of Bentley, as true now as in his day, is worth keeping constantly in mind: "The real text of the sacred writers . . . is competently exact in the worst MS. now extant; nor is one article of faith or moral precept either perverted or lost in them; choose as awkwardly as you will, choose the worst by design, out of the whole lump of readings." "But even put [the various readings] into the hands of a knave or a fool, and yet with the most sinistrous and absurd choice, he shall not extinguish the light of any one chapter, nor so disguise Christianity but that every feature of it will still be the same." Our whole discussion concerns—not *sense-ual*—but *textual* variations, and MSS. cannot be distributed into doctrinal or even *sense-ual* types, but only

trace of the cursive peculiarities can be found in the citations of the Ante-Nicene fathers; while on the other hand their citations, when critically obtained, all range with the opposite classes, and especially with that form of them which has been named the Western, and which was certainly the most broadly current text from the early part of the second century until the fourth. We have, therefore, to face this phenomenon: universal and, so far as evidence goes, sole currency of the ancient types of text, which Dr. Hort therefore calls the pre-Syrian, until the fourth century, with the sudden presence of the other, which Dr. Hort from the predominance of Syrian influences at this period calls the Syrian, in its full-formed state from the fourth century onward. Negative evidence cannot be demonstrative: but the presumption hence arises that the pre-Syrian texts are the oldest, and this in turn throws a presumption against the purity of the Syrian.

The next step is to compare the Syrian and pre-Syrian texts in their internal characteristics with a view to determining their relative values. If we collect two lists—one of all the readings which the Syrian text as a class offers in opposition to the pre-Syrian as a class, and the other of all the pre-Syrian readings where, as a class, they differ from the Syrian as a class, the two together thus forming the two sides of the same collection of various readings between the two classes—and then test the two lists separately by paradiplomatic and internal evidence, we shall reach this result: the pre-Syrian readings usually commend themselves as genuine; the Syrian readings usually present the appearance of corruptions. Hence, it doubly follows that the pre-Syrian text is certainly the better of the two; since it approves itself as such wherever it can be tested, the inference is strong that it is such also where the test cannot be applied. Thus we reach the same conclusion (and by largely the same methods) that Tregelles obtained by the application of what he happily called comparative criticism, but what Dr. Hort would call a combination of historical evidence and the internal evidence of documents. The result is sure, and the process by which it is obtained, in either case, trustworthy. But Dr. Hort's method has the advantage of being the more precise and methodical.

Although the Syrian text is thus presumptively the later, and certainly the less valuable, our problem is not yet solved, and cannot be until we answer the query: Whence came this Syrian text? It is still conceivable that it may preserve in itself an independent line of

into *text* types. So far as general sense is concerned, the New Testament is the same in all MSS.; and the dogmatic theologian or preacher of righteousness does not need to consider the variations save in determining which texts to use as proof-texts.

evidence, which ran underground during the early centuries and first came to light in the fourth, and which, though not so valuable as the pre-Syrian, cannot be safely neglected. The question so constantly put: "What right have we to pass over the testimony of this class as if it were *impossible* for it to contain independent evidence?" can never be answered without a very careful search into the origin of the class. Undertaking this work, Dr. Hort has instituted a very careful comparison between the Syrian and pre-Syrian texts, with this conclusion: the Syrian preserves nothing from antiquity not in the pre-Syrian—it was, in fact, bodily made out of the pre-Syrian forms. The proof of this is manifold and convincing. We need not stop here, however, to do more than point out one element of it—that derived from *conflate readings*. These arise from cases of ternary variation where the third reading is a combination of the other two. Now the Syrian text abounds in conflate readings, made by a more or less skilful combination of two pre-Syrian forms. One such reading might be accounted for as an accident, but the mass of them prove conclusively that the Syrian text in all these passages was derived from a combination of these earlier types. It becomes immediately (when the other phenomena are also taken into account) morally certain that other readings in the Syrian text, exactly the same as readings found in a pre-Syrian type, thus proved to have been used in its making, also came from this previous text. The inference cannot fail to extend further to those Syrian readings which, while not the same as those found in pre-Syrian texts, are yet declared by paradiplomatic evidence to be derived from them. The result, after careful investigation, is, that the Syrian text preserves nothing not in the pre-Syrian forms, out of which it was made; and, further, that it was made, not by accidental and slow growth, but intentionally, and by a set effort to frame a full, smooth, flowing, easy text out of the already existing abounding variations. It is, therefore, not only presumptively later than the pre-Syrian, but certainly; not only of less value as evidence, but of no value at all, where we have the pre-Syrian, out of which it was made. Its testimony is not to the original, but to the pre-Syrian texts, and it could be of value, in their presence, only if we could believe that it had been framed on critical principles, and so could guide us to a proper choice among pre-Syrian readings. But, to say nothing of what is otherwise known of the critical processes of the time, the internal evidence is decisive that the principles which guided its formation did not rise above the effort to obtain easy smoothness.* The presence of Syrian documents, therefore,

* We trust that we can count on the assent of the *Quarterly Reviewer* here, so soon

in attesting groups is simply confusing—multiplying variations or lending fictitious weight among early variations to this or that one which happened to find its way into it.

Two important rules of critical procedure may now be formulated: 1. All distinctively Syrian readings must be rejected, and: 2. All purely Syrian support to earlier readings must be neglected. Here, for the first time, is the practice of Tregelles in neglecting all late testimony fully vindicated. It is neglected, not because the evidence of this class is too small to be appreciably felt, but because it is not independent evidence but a mere repetition of that already in hand. All the evidence is certainly to be taken into account until the history of the text is recovered and the mutual relations of the witnesses determined. Then all purely derived evidence is to be sifted out. Here, too, a full answer emerges to the scoff, that, from the mass of the cursives, those which happen to agree with the old MSS. are arbitrarily selected, while the rest are as arbitrarily rejected. Of course, all those which prove to transmit the independent lines of evidence are justly selected, while, in like manner, those that betray themselves to be mere repeaters of the testimony already heard are as justly rejected. This is simply to protect the ballot-box; and it is certainly a great gain to criticism to be thus fully justified in setting aside the clamors of the mob and giving its attention to the trusty few alone.

Thrown back on pre-Syrian witness the difficult question is broached: How proceed when this witness is divided? Dr. Hort answers again, primarily by seeking the genealogical affiliations of the documents. The clear distinction between the groups headed by B and D respectively, is, of course, recognized and abundantly re-proved, and evidence is found of the existence of a third less strongly marked type, differing from the B group only by the presence of certain careful (grammatical, etc.) corrections. The three classes are called, respectively, Neutral, Western, and Alexandrian. So far was clear sailing. The difficulty arises when the relations of these groups to one another are considered—relations complicated most tryingly by the existence of intermediate types of almost every possible variety. Here the second great unsettled

as he examines the evidence adduced by Dr. Hort. Certainly he can have no *à priori* objection to the conclusion, since he writes (p. 321): "We know that Origen in Palestine, Lucian at Antioch, Hesychius in Egypt 'revised' the text of the New Testament. Unfortunately, they did their work in an age when such fatal misapprehension prevailed on the subject that each, in turn, will have inevitably imported a fresh assortment of *monstra* into the Sacred Writings." Just so. We call upon him to recognize just such a text as he describes in the class (Syrian) to which he has hitherto accorded mistaken suffrage, and to hold with Dr. Hort that it possibly represents the Lucianic revision.

problem appeared, which, however, like the first, seems to have been successfully solved. It is remarkable, indeed, that these intermediate texts should have so long disturbed scholars. Clearly their presence does not in any way lessen the actual divergence between, say B and the Old Latin version. The only problem is their origin. Explanations might be sought by considering them representatives of the links in the gradual chain of corruption from a type, say like B, to one like the Old Latin—or, in both directions, from a type intermediate between the two—or of mixture of the two diverging texts already formed. Undoubtedly all these causes may, and ought to, be called in to account for the phenomena. Corruption was clearly progressive—the result of a gradual growth—and the marks of the growth are preserved in the extant documents. But Dr. Hort has shown that much the largest portion of intermediate phenomena is due to *mixture* between two or more already existent types. There is no difficulty in accounting for mixture: it could arise in a variety of ways—sometimes from the scribe actually using two originals in making his copy; sometimes from the tricks of a memory full of the details of a different exemplar than that now before the eye; sometimes from the use, as exemplar, of a MS. which had been corrected in part, or throughout, from another of a different class. But, however produced, the existence of mixed texts can by no means throw doubt on the original diversity of the parts out of which they were made. They may, and sometimes do, render difficult or impossible the assignment of a simple genealogy to a given document, or, in cases where unmixed evidence is lacking, the definite assignment of given variations to their own proper classes; and thus, in some passages, they may render the application of genealogical evidence to the elucidation of the textual history and the formation of the text impracticable. But they most certainly do not affect either the reality of the groups or the surety with which we may assign the variations, for whose affinities there does not exist safe evidence, to their own proper classes. In a word, they do not affect the value of genealogical evidence wherever it can be applied.

Having thus determined the existence of three pre-Syrian groups, and assigned to each group its own proper contingent of the readings, the next step is to test the relative values of the pre-Syrian groups. The process by which this is done is altogether similar to that by which the pre-Syrian readings, as a class, were proved superior to the Syrian. Having made lists of the readings of each group, so far as mixture allows of their assignment, paradiplo-

matic and internal evidence is appealed to to decide as to the value of each. They proclaim the Neutral readings generally right, and the Western and Alexandrian generally corruptions. Hence follow, as critical rules of ordinary validity: 1. The reading supported by the Neutral and Alexandrian groups against the Western is probably genuine; 2. That supported by the Neutral and the Western against the Alexandrian is probably genuine; 3. Where the pre-Syrian variation is ternary the Neutral is probably genuine, and is usually supported as such by paradiplomatic and internal evidence; 4. The reading supported by the union of the Western and Alexandrian groups should be preferred to the Neutral reading; but, as all existing Alexandrian documents contain Western corruptions, such apparent union is suspicious, and paradiplomatic and internal evidence generally decides here also in favor of the Neutral.

It is plain that we have here an exceedingly clear and trustworthy scheme, and it only remains for us to note the observed group-character of our best documents to enable us to apply the rules to a large number of readings. Examination shows that only five of our MSS. are purely pre-Syrian, viz: B, **Ϛ**, D, D₂, G₃, although a considerable number of others, such as C, L, P, Q, R, T, Z, **Δ** (in Mark), **Ξ**, E₂, and some cursives, contain a pre-Syrian element of greater or less extent. D, D₂, and G₃ may be taken as representative Western documents, and seem to present that text unmixed, but in different stages of development. C and L, though with much mixture, possess the largest Alexandrian element. B is purely Neutral almost throughout (*i. e.*, except in Paul, where a limited Western element is found). **Ϛ** is largely Neutral, but in admixture with a considerable Western and Alexandrian element. After **Ϛ**, and with about as great an interval between them and it as between it and B, the largest Neutral element is found in **Γ** of Luke and John, **Ξ** of Luke, L, 33, **Δ** of Mark, C, Z in Matt., R in Luke, Q and P among MSS. of the Gospels. In Acts A, 13 and 61 come forward, and in Paul, A, P₂, 17 and 67**. Among the versions the Old Latin (not the Itala) is found to be purely, and the Curetonian Syriac probably predominatingly Western; the Memphitic was probably originally wholly pre-Syrian and predominatingly non-Western, but in its printed form it has a slight Syrian element also. The Thebaic is similar, except that its Western element is larger. The others present mixed texts with larger or smaller Syrian elements. Thus, it appears that the old verdict of scholars is confirmed, and the Memphitic is proved the best, followed next by the Thebaic, of all versions in

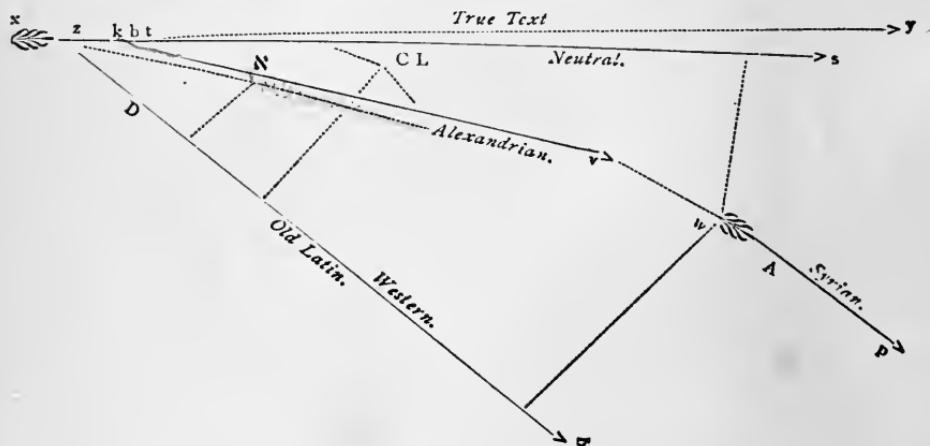
text-criticism. Among the Fathers the non-Western, pre-Syrian element is largest in Origen, Didymus, and Cyril Alexandrinus.

Of course, genealogical evidence will not settle everything; but by its systematization very much has been gained. The early history of the text has been recovered; a vast number of readings have been winnowed away with the Syrian text as not worthy of consideration; a large number have been rendered very improbable by their definite assignment to aberrant texts like the Western and Alexandrian; a large number—rivals of these—have been, therefore, shown to be probably parts of the original text; and thus a goodly portion of the text has been securely reconstructed, and the choice confined in a numerous class of other passages to narrow limits. A comparatively very small portion of the text is thus left in uncertainty.*

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF GROUPS.

In order to determine the true reading in those cases where from whatever cause genealogical evidence is inapplicable or fails to be decisive, as well as to test the results obtained by that form of evidence, Dr. Hort calls in next another process which he appropriately names Internal Evidence of Groups. Internal evidence of readings

* Perhaps the genealogy of the text and the results which flow from its determination may be rendered easily comprehensible through a rough diagram, thus:



If x y represents the line of absolutely true descent, z q , along the course of which the various Western documents may be ranged in growing corruption, will roughly represent the Western divergence— k s the Neutral and t v the Alexandrian; w p represents the Syrian. Now it is evident that B , placed at a point between k and t , is the nearest to the originals of any MS. B N will carry us back to a point on k s , or to a point between z k or (when N is Western) to z , B D takes us to z . N D , on the one hand, may be equal to B D , and, on the other, may be equal to D alone, *i. e.*, may take us to z or else somewhere amid the abounding corruption of z q , and so on.

is the evidence for itself yielded by each reading's own probability when tested by the combined use of paradiplomatic and internal evidence proper. Internal evidence of documents is the evidence which each document yields to its own value; and is elicited by noting what proportion of its readings approve themselves as probably genuine when tested by the combined use of paradiplomatic and internal evidence proper. If we take a list of all variations between two documents, and finding them to be eleven hundred in all, then discover that in a thousand of them all the probability is in favor of the correctness of one of the MSS., and only in a hundred of the other, we have thereby determined the probable comparative values of the MSS. The result is essentially altered neither where the contestants are one hundred instead of two, nor where the evidence applied is decisive in only a portion of the passages compared. Now we may carry this process one step higher until it becomes internal evidence of groups. If two MSS. agree in a reading, this is evidence, barring accidents, of community of origin in that reading. If they agree thus in a number of readings, accidents are barred, and their common origin in these portions—immediate or remote—is proved. It is immediately evident that by noting the readings in which two MSS. agree we are really constructing a list of readings from an older MS., the common parent of both in these portions. Nor does it introduce any new factor if we make the two MSS. a dozen or a hundred. And nothing prevents our testing through this list the comparative value of this lost MS. thus reconstructed, in relation to others reclaimed in like manner, just as if they were all extant and in our very hands. The compound of symbols (B \aleph , or \aleph D, or B C \aleph , etc.), the largest proportionate number of readings attested by which are approved by combined paradiplomatic and internal evidence, represents the best lost original, and should command our suffrages. This method enables us to deal with groups as units, and greatly simplifies the labor of criticism as well as adds, by freeing us from the old arithmetical balance of individuals and enabling us to assign a constant value to any given group, untold surety to its conclusions. It seems, on the face of it, to be impossible to doubt the legitimacy of the process or the surety of its results. But were doubt to arise, it should certainly be set aside on noting how fully these results confirm those reached by genealogical evidence, and are in turn confirmed by them. This is a veritable case of undesigned coincidence, and is entitled to all the force of that argument.

Tested after this fashion, the compound B \aleph is found to approve itself almost uniformly as genuine, and next to it B plus some other

primary uncial; while on the other hand compounds of **N** and an uncial other than B generally fail to make good their claim. The only frequent exception to this law consists of compounds of B and a Western document in the *Pauline epistles*, which are usually discredited. We cannot resist the temptation to turn aside here long enough to call attention to the striking accordance of these results with the facts reached by the entirely different process of genealogical evidence. If B is the only document which (except in Paul) has no other than a Neutral element, its compounds will naturally (usually) present a combination of two independent groups; while all other documents (including **N**) when conjoined, are apt to be so, only because they partake of common Western, Alexandrian, or Syrian corruption. The high comparative value assigned to compounds of B by the method being now considered, is thus just what should be expected. B plus only one or more secondary MSS., or B plus versions alone, or B plus fathers alone, commonly approves itself by the same test; whereas **N** plus only such support (and much more any other uncial than **N**) is almost uniformly condemned. Even individualisms of B when they cannot be ascribed to clerical errors of its scribe, quite frequently, and especially in ternary variations approve themselves; while individualisms of other MSS. are almost always condemned. After the Gospels, A rises to the value of a primary uncial, and in Paul no MS. is without some Western element. Consequently we are not surprised to find that such groups as "B D₂ G₃, **N** D₂ G₃, A D₂ G₃, C D₂ G₃, and even A C D₂ G₃, and occasionally **N** A C D₂ G₃" are condemned by internal evidence of groups. On the other hand the same test is usually favorable to the apparently non-western groups; and even, with rare exceptions, to **N** B D₂ G₃, thus vindicating even here the combination B **N**.* In the apocalypse **N** falls to a perceptibly lower level than elsewhere, and the strongest combination is A C; and even A alone stands the test excellently.

The most striking results reached by this investigation are the high authority given to B and to the combination B **N**. Dr. Hort proves the immediate independence of these MSS.,† and thus shows that the

* This simply amounts to an indication that **N** and B gain their Western corruptions independently of one another (and forms another mark of the independence of the two MSS.), and hence do not usually partake of the same Western corruptions; and hence when combined B and **N** agree even with typical Western documents, we are not to look on the Western line of corruption for the original parent of the groups, but on the original line of descent, that is, at z on the diagram. And this means, doubtless, in the first century.

† We content ourselves with this simple statement here, referring for proof to Dr. Hort's Introduction, §§ 287-304. The rash repetition by the *Quarterly Reviewer* of the old and worn-out charge: "Between B and **N** there subsists an amount of sinister

combination represents a document of the early second century—if not a generation earlier; which itself represents seemingly the pure stock from which all others in existence appear to have diverged.* This high estimation of these documents has been even made the pretext of attack upon the system of criticism adopted by the whole school to which Dr. Hort belongs, and that although it is universally admitted that B is the best single MS. in existence.† The answer is

resemblance which proves that they must have been both derived at no very remote period from the same corrupt original" (p. 312), is there fully set aside, if indeed the Reviewer has not himself succeeded in destroying its meaning by his subsequent words: "It is easier to find two consecutive verses in which the two MSS. differ the one from the other, than two consecutive verses in which they entirely agree." (The italics are his). The fact that a small portion of N is from the same hand that wrote B as much proves a community of text as the fact that Dr. Scrivener's Greek Testament and Wescott and Hort's came from the same press, proves that they present the same text.

* Represents, not is that pure stock. Such passages as Matt. xxvii. 49 (compare Dr. Hort, § 240), prove that B and N possess exceedingly rarely a common corruption not shared by Western documents, so that B N D represents the same stock at an earlier point. Thus B D or non-Western N connected with D may differ in value from B N, not in giving a less ancient or less pure reading, but only as giving so many fewer readings. B D when it does exist may be (save in Paul) equally as good as, or better than B N.

† Of course it is not meant that no individual has ever disputed the supreme excellence of B; but only that all recognized authorities of whatever school are united at present on this point. The *Quarterly Reviewer* does not shrink from ranging himself against the consensus of critical opinion. With him B is not only a MS. of "bad character," and one that "exhibits a fabricated text" (p. 312), but one of the depraved trio (D N B), which he can "venture to assure" his readers "are three of the most corrupt copies extant," and "have become by whatever process the depositaries of the largest amount of fabricated readings which are anywhere to be met with" (p. 315). It is pleasant to learn that B is, however, even in the eyes of this critic, on the whole the least terrible of this terrible trio. The answer to all this is found in the statements of the text, supported as they are by all writers of repute on the subject. What confidence can be put in the Reviewer's broad statements on the subject may be not unjustly estimated by the aid of two circumstances: 1. He refers for detailed information on such points to Dr. Scrivener's "Plain Introduction," etc., as (and we take great pleasure in expressing our assent to the words) the work of a "judicious, impartial, and thoroughly competent guide" (p. 311)—of one even (he tells us) "vastly Tischendorf's superior in learning, accuracy, and judgment" (p. 318). And yet Dr. S. is explicit in his statement (p. 471) that B is "the most weighty single authority that we possess." 2. He allows himself (p. 321) in his zeal against B to quote Dr. Scrivener's description of the corrupt Western text (pp. 452-3), and apply it to B as one "of the class thus characterized by Dr. Scrivener"; and that although Dr. S. had carefully distinguished it from the class described (p. 452). It is true the Reviewer guards his statement somewhat by saying N B C D are "specimens—in vastly different degrees—of the class thus characterized," but this will not exonerate him from having printed a very misleading statement. For that the very small Western element in the Pauline portion of B will not be sufficient to justify the words used is apparent; and becomes still more so on remembering that the object of the passage is to exhibit the untrustworthiness of these MSS. because they class with D, whereas all the documents which the writer himself follows have a larger Western element than B.

The details which are given (as e.g., p. 312) of the divergence of each of the great MSS. from a given standard are very interesting, but, as the Reviewer puts them, misleading in the extreme. When we read that "in the Gospels alone, B is found to omit at least

ready and complete ; only such authority is yielded to B ~~N~~ or to B alone as that group or that MS. when tested by paradiplomatic and internal evidence vindicates for itself. The further scoff so often ventured, that the discovery of a fourth century MS. of Syrian type would revolutionize criticism and utterly change the balance of evidence, of course is equally meaningless. Such a discovery would have absolutely no effect on either. MSS. are to be valued, not counted ; and the age of the document is presumptive of value of text only prior to examination. Even though the Syrian text should be traced further back than now seems possible, nothing can alter the two facts : that it is inherently—paradiplomatic and internal evidence being judges—the inferior text, and that it was made out of the pre-Syrian. Nor will it do to raise objection to the reconstruction of lost MSS. from group—attestation as a chimera of the imagination furnishing only shadowy basis for farther inferences. If this be so, then any reconstruction of the New Testament text is *à fortiori* a dream. For internal evidence of groups only undertakes to do repeatedly and on a small scale what its opponents would attempt to do once for all on a large scale. The recovery of each lost MS. is only on narrower ground, and with more manageable and surer evidence, performing the task that all attempt in seeking the autographic text from documentary attestation. The only difference between the two methods is that one

2,877 words ; to add 536 ; to substitute 935 ; to transpose 2,098 ; to modify 1,132 (in all, 7,578)"—the thing looks alarming, and we feel a flesh-creeping all over. But when we revive sufficiently to ask : Omits from what ? adds to what ? etc., we discover, from a subsequent part of the article, that the *ordinarily printed text is meant*, and breathe freely again to know that this is but a list of divergences between B and the corrupt *Textus Receptus*, and therefore, roughly marks the corruption of that edition, not of B. It may be safely left to the public to decide on the fairness of quietly assuming that, in spite of the history of its formation, the *Textus Receptus* is all but perfect, and then before a popular audience quietly condemning the old MSS. for not agreeing with it, without a word of warning as to the exact nature of the question-begging which will alone give the words any sense or meaning. This quiet begging of the question—this quiet assuming the truth of a disproved fancy—is what gives at once the appearance of strength to the *Quarterly's* article and the reality of almost laughable weakness.

As to critical rules the Reviewer seems to have but two : 1. Witnesses must be counted, not weighed ; and 2. Internal probability consists in the pleasingness of a reading to us—with all our long use of a particular text and natural and ingrained love for its every detail. Perhaps we may be allowed to borrow a phrase which is most strangely strewed up and down the Reviewer's pages, and "venture to assure him" that the day is past when men can be allowed to mistake their personal preference for internal probability on the one hand, or on the other to give the inheritance of the lawful heir or two to the twenty children of the illegitimate son, just because they are more. And what is counting MSS. instead of weighing them but this? Communism,—the theory that each individual, merely by right of his existence, can demand an equal share in all the rightful possessions of his neighbors,—seems to us inherently unlovely, whether among MSS. or men. Before we yield credit, let us by all means examine titles.

would wish to proceed slowly and surely—step by step—working its way from one fact to another by a strictly inductive method; and the other to jump at once crudely to its last conclusion. The difference, in a word, is the same as that between Bunsen's and Mackenzie's theories of Geysers—between the Baconian and the so-called Aristotelian methods of thought—between science and guessing.

THE APPLICATION OF THE EVIDENCE.

With the documentary evidence thus in hand, and thus estimated, how is it to be applied in reconstructing the text? From what has already been said, it goes without saying that the new editors do not apply it mechanically; and, on a moment's consideration, it must be seen that such a method of application would not be practicable. Clearly, even the purest line of transmission (say the Neutral) *may* contain errors introduced into that line subsequent to the divergence from it of a very corrupt line (say the Western), in which alone the true reading may thus be preserved, and the exceedingly early origin of Western divergence leaves it not *a priori* impossible that this may in certain instances be the case. In such instances the true reading would lie outside of the evidence usually considered conclusive in the formation of the text. The fact that such cases do occur, and the proof that any given asserted instance falls under this class, can only be sought through paradiplomatic and internal evidence. Other considerations of a somewhat like nature lead to the same conclusion. Hence, as the original, and not the best authenticated transmitted text is sought, it follows that the evidence cannot be applied mechanically. If, therefore, Dr. Hort's first great critical rule is: *Knowledge of documents must precede judgment on readings*; and his second: *Knowledge of genealogies must precede judgment on evidence*; his third, co-ordinate with these, even if not so formally stated, is: *No reading is to be finally accepted unless commended by internal evidence as well as documentary*—in internal evidence including both paradiplomatic and internal proper, under the names of *transcriptional* and *intrinsic* probabilities. Thus, to internal evidence is allowed a veto power, and its function is to a large degree analogous to the veto power the President of the United States has allowed him over bills of Congress. Recognizing the uncertainties and dangers that attend appeal to internal considerations, every attempt is made to guard against them. It is not in either sort to be primarily invoked; it has a right to be heard, indeed, but it must keep silence until the testimony of the documents has been sifted and thoroughly understood. Then, when

offered, it must be unanimous; both kinds must point in the same direction. Care must be taken that we try the readings intrinsically, not by our own notion of what should be read, but by an anxious attempt to reproduce the writer's own thought. Equal care must be taken that we judge the transcriptional probability by the actual mental tendencies of the scribes, and not by our own which may be opposite. And, still further, internal evidence must be allowed to override documentary probabilities only when, after repeated, and still again repeated testing, it persists in ranging its combined testimony in opposition. Often what is originally judged intrinsically probable is afterward seen to be untenable, and the reading at first imagined intrinsically improbable is seen, on repeated study, to be intrinsically certain. Often what is originally judged transcriptionally improbable is, on further study, seen to be transcriptionally certain. When, however, after this repeated testing and re-testing, the verdict is clear, that one reading is intrinsically best while apparently troublesome, while all others combine latent inferiority with open plausibility, then this combined testimony can never be safely disregarded, and, practically, is judged supreme. Thus, the clear united testimony of transcriptional and intrinsic evidence, though it is only secondary evidence in the sense that it must not be considered until the last word from the documents is in, is yet, in Dr. Hort's scheme, primary evidence, in that it is supreme and may override any and all documentary evidence.

No doubt it is easy to say that thus very great authority is assigned to a class of evidence which is peculiarly liable to mistake, and to be especially swayed by subjective feeling. True, we may answer, but how can we do otherwise? It may be admitted that it is easier to gather the external evidence, determine its meaning, and then apply it mechanically to the text. But will the result be truer? Royal roads to truth are not usually judged highly estimable, and the difficulty of a task is hardly sufficient reason for declining to undertake it altogether. It is undoubtedly difficult to abstract personal likes and dislikes, educational prejudices, the prescription of use and wont from our judgment of the bearing of internal probabilities; but these difficulties must be faced and laid, or, in ruling one half of the evidence out of court, we rule all hope of a perfect text out with it. At every step of a valid critical procedure we are forced to call in internal evidence to decide for us the relative value of rival documents or classes of documents: how can we refuse it, then, a final voice in deciding between rival readings? It may be open to question whether Drs. Westcott and Hort have not allowed it in

certain particular passages too much weight; or *vice versa* in certain passages, too little weight; but there can hardly be continued question but that the principle is correct, that no reading can be held to be absolutely certain unless it can be shown to be commended alike by documentary and both sorts of internal evidence. And the great merit of the scheme of criticism which Dr. Hort offers is just this: that it takes full account of every variety of testimony, and will not allow that its work is done until it has heard the united voice of the three great forms in which evidence reaches us. Certainly a text constructed thus is, above all others, a sure text.

CRITICAL CONJECTURE.

The high value thus assigned to internal evidence leads to the revival, as an adjunct in the settlement of the text, of the old method, once so popular, of critical conjecture. The vagaries of those who have most used this method long since brought it into not undeserved contempt. But *à priori* it will be difficult to see why it should be excluded from possible resort in reconstructing the text of the New Testament alone, of ancient books. The documentary evidence, mechanically applied, will take us here, too, only to the earliest transmitted text; and whether this be the autographic text as well, or a more or less corrupt descendant of it, can be learned only by an appeal to the two varieties of internal evidence. But the mere fact of questioning internal evidence on the subject implies that it may give its testimony against the transmitted text, and if so, in any passage, what is left us for the reconstruction of the text but pure or impure* conjecture? The very act of reconstructing the text on any other method than that of absolutely mechanically applying the documentary evidence admits the legitimacy of conjectural emendation. It may be said here, again, that thus a wide door is opened for the entrance of deceitful dealing with the Word of Life. The danger is apparent and imminent. But we cannot arbitrarily close the door lest we incur the same charge. It is true here, as elsewhere, that wicked men have it in their power to deal wickedly with God's Word, and that our only safeguards against it are piety and right

* By *pure* conjecture is meant conjecture unsupported by any external testimony; by *impure*, conjecture supported by documents of insufficient authority to of itself authenticate the text. Impure conjecture is, then, simply (in all ordinary cases) the adoption, by a modern editor, of a successful conjecture of an ancient scribe. It is worthy of note that every editor (most of all, those who retain the Syrian text) admits impure conjectures into his text, and those of such sort that their MS. attestation cannot be possibly accounted for by any theory of transmission; and it is difficult to see why sixth or tenth century scribes should be allowed the monopoly of conjectures.

* Such readings as *anobavōrros*, *Ro 10:6* which seems to be only a conjecture of Beza's, are, of course, pure conjectures found

reason. Two precautionary requirements are, however, in place: 1. First of all, it must be demanded that clear occasion for conjecture shall be required in each case where it is offered, and, unless not only its legitimacy can be proved, but in each case also its *necessity*, we shall allow none of it. It has, indeed, been often asserted that it has been already proven that there is no occasion for conjecture in the New Testament; but the assertion is certainly premature—the most careful writers feel it impossible to stand upon it—and we cannot afford to repeat it.* 2. And next, it must be demanded that, even if the necessity for conjecture be proved in a particular case, no emendation offered be accepted unless it perfectly fulfils the requirements of both varieties of internal evidence. With these demands we may occupy both safe and reasonable ground.

We do not wish to conceal our belief, moreover, that in the very large majority of the cases†—perhaps in all—where Dr. Hort or Dr. Westcott or both consider that primitive error exists in the reconstructed text which must be removed by conjecture, we cannot feel that the claim of necessity for it is even very plausible, much less made out. It is, therefore, a matter of deep congratulation that they have not deformed their text with conjectural emendations, but have in every

* Dr. Roberts ("Words of the New Testament, etc.," p. 24) and Mr. Hammond ("Outlines of Textual Criticism, etc.," p. 8) take broadly the ground that there is no need for conjecture in the New Testament. The *Quarterly Reviewer* simply says, with characteristic emphasis (the small capitals are his): "May we be allowed to assure him that IN BIBLICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM 'CONJECTURAL EMENDATION' HAS NO PLACE" (p. 320). On the other hand, Dr. Tregelles (Horne's Introduction, Edition 13. vol. iv., p. 150) and Reuss (Geschichte d. heil. Schrift. d. N. T., p. 398) speak doubtfully; and Dr. Scrivener (p. 433 and note) admits the need, but would banish the method on the plea of expediency. At present there seems to be a pretty general reaction in favor of conjecture in progress. In Holland, indeed, the traditions of Valckenaer, kept alive in our own day by Cobet et al., never died out. The latest marks of the same spirit there may be found in Dr. Hartings' Essay, in 1879, and the Teyler Society's publications for 1880 (by Van Manen and Van de Sande Bakhuyzen). In England the conjectures printed in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology* have been straws showing the way the wind was blowing. Mr. Linwood's pamphlet (1873) is of less importance; but Dr. Lightfoot's proposals of conjectural emendation at Col. ii., 18; Phil. ii., 1, and Gal. ii., 12, have been of great influence. In Germany such hands have handled it, and in such a spirit as would keep it in disgrace. The just remarks of Von Gebhardt (Leipziger Theol. Literaturz. 6, 23, p. 540) show, however, the advent of fitter influences.

† Amounting in all to some 62, as follows: Matt. xv. 30, xxi. 28-31, xxviii. 7; Mark iv. 28; Luke xi. 35; John iv. 1, vi. 4 [viii. 9]; Acts iv. 25, vii. 46, xii. 25, xiii. 32, 42, xvi. 12, xix. 40, xx. 28, xxv. 13, xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. i. 7, iii. 21; 2 Pet. iii. 10, 12; 1 John v. 10; Jude i. 5 *bis.*, 22 *ff.*; Rom. i. 22, iv. 12, v. 6, viii. 2, xiii. 3, xv. 32; 1 Cor. xii. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 3, 17, vii. 8, xii. 7; Gal. iv. 31—v. 1; Col. ii. 2, 18, 23, *bis.*; 2 Thess. i. 10; Heb. iv. 2, x. 1, xi. 4, 37, xii. 11, xiii. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 3, vi. 7; 2 Tim. i. 13; Phil. 9; Apoc. i. 20, ix. 10, xi. 3, xiii. 10, 15, 16, xviii. 12, xix. 13. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, on the other hand, wildly asserts that about 200 passages have been already successfully emended by conjecture!

case printed the best attested reading, and relegated their emendations to the Appendix. By this means they have left the question just where it should rest; admitting the legitimacy of the method and indicating the passages where, in their judgment, there is need for it, they leave as questions open for discussion in each case: Whether there be a real necessity for it, and whether their attempted emendation is successful.

THE NEW TEXT.

The question which next claims our attention is: What is the character of the text which the new editors have made, on these principles? At once the easiest, briefest, and most satisfactory way of answering it will be through a collation of the new text with the editions of Tregelles and Tischendorf (which alone are worthy of comparison with it) in some one portion of the New Testament—from which we may be able to learn immediately the relation of the three to one another, and hence the comparative value of each. We avoid the Gospels in making choice of a section, both because that portion of the new text has been already pretty fully examined by others,* and because Dr. Tregelles' text cannot be thought equal to itself in the Gospels,† and hence the comparison would not be fair to him. Outside of the Gospels we choose at random the Epistle to the Ephesians; and add to the compared texts that which underlies the Revised English New Testament, on account of its inherent interest to us all.

If we take no account of differences in mere spelling, whether due to itacism or elision, or in punctuation,—so that we consider only the real differences; and as well take no account of brackets or margins, so that we may deal with the *preferred* text in each instance:—we may count some one hundred and sixteen cases in which one or another of these four texts differs from Stephens' *Editio Regia*. In some seventy-five per cent. of these cases, however, they all four agree in the change made, leaving only some twenty-five per cent. of the changes from the *Receptus*, or about one per cent. of the whole epistle, about which there is any difference of opinion among competent editors as to the reading. This result is worth our consideration; it furnishes a sufficient answer to both the charge that textual criticism tends to unsettle the text, and the fear that we can never attain a really received text. At this early stage, at least ninety-nine per cent. of the Epistle to the Ephesians has reached the stage of a really received text,—receiv-

* *E. g.*, by Dr. Sanday in the *Expositor* (last three Nos. of 1881).

† Through the inaccessibility when it was made of both *N*, and good editions of *B*.

ed by all competent critics. And this understates the case, since the number of passages where difference of opinion exists, has been largely increased by the admission of the Revisers' text to comparison and its habit of retaining even confessedly false readings, provided that they are such as cause no difference in a translation. If we omit such cases, we have, instead of thirty-one, only 23 cases where the editors differ, *i. e.*, less than twenty per cent. of the divergences from the Receptus. What the character of these is may be seen at a glance from the following list:*

PASSAGES IN EPHESIANS IN WHICH P. W. T. AND TR. DIFFER AMONG THEMSELVES.

1. Eph. i. 14.† δ. P. W. Tr-mg. with A B F G L P etc.—δς T. Tr. W-mg. with Ν D E K.
2. Eph. i. 15. τὴν ἀγάπην T, Tr, P-mg with (Ν^c) D F G 47 etc.—omit, P. W. [Tr-mg] with Ν* A B (P). 17.
3. Eph. i. 20. ἐνήργησεν P. Tr. W-mg with Ν D F G K L P etc.—ἐνήργηκεν T. W. Tr-mg. with A B etc.
4. Eph. i. 20. αὐτὸν after καθίσας T. with Ν A 17 Syrr. Memph, etc.—omit P. Tr. W. with B D E F G K L P etc.
5. Eph. iii. 1. X. Ἰησὸν P. W. Tr. with Ν* A B C D^c etc—omit Ἰησὸν T. with Ν* D* F G.
6. Eph. iii. 9. πάντας P. Tr. W-mg. with B Ν^c C D F G K L P. etc.—omit T. W. P-mg. with Ν* A. 67.**
7. Eph. iii. 18. ὑψος καὶ βάθος P. W. Tr with B C D F G, etc.—transpose T. Tr-mg. W-mg with Ν A K L etc.
8. Eph. iv. 2. πραότητος P with A D F G L O^b etc.—πραύτητος T. Tr. W. with B Ν C. 17.
9. Eph. iv. 7. ἡ before χάρις P. T. [W]. with Ν A C D^c E K etc.—omit Tr. with B D* F G E P* etc.
10. Eph. iv. 8. καὶ before ἐδοκεν P. Tr. [W.] with B Ν^c C* D^c K L P. 37 47 etc.—omit T. with Ν* A C^c D* F G. 17.
11. Eph. iv. 16. ἐαυτὸν P. W. Tr. with B A C D^c etc—αὐτὸν T with Ν D* F G etc.
12. Eph. iv. 18. ἐσκοτισμένοι P with D F (G) K L (P)—ἐσκοτωμένοι T. Tr. W. with Ν B A 17 etc.
13. Eph. iv. 28. τὸ ἀγαθὸν before ταις P. with L etc.—after χερσὸν T. Tr. W with B Ν A D F G etc.
14. Eph. iv. 28. ἴδαις (before χερσὸν) T. Tr. W-mg with Ν* A D F G K.—omit P. W. with B, Ν^c L etc.
15. Eph. v. 2. ἡμῶν P. T. Tr. W-mg. with Ν A D F G K L P Memph. Vulg. Syrr. etc—ἱμῶν W. P-mg. with B. 37. m. Theb. Aeth. Victorinus.
16. Eph. v. 4. καὶ (before μωροῦ.) P. Tr. W. with B Ν^c D^c K L 17. 37. 47. Memph. Aeth. Clement—η T. with Ν* A D* F G P Theb. Vulg. etc.
17. Eph. v. 4. τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα P. with D F G K L 37 47 etc.—α οὐκ ἀνηκεν T. Tr. W with B Ν A P (17) etc.

* In this list P. (= Palmer) denotes the Revisers' text; W, that of Westcott & Hart; T that of Tischendorf; and Tr. that of Tregelles.

†Eph. i. 1. presents a peculiar case; the editors differ as to their actual treatment of it, but mean about the same thing by their very divergences. Hence it is omitted here.

18. Eph. v. 14. Ἐγειραι P. with 17. 37. Orig. etc.—ἐγειρε T. Tr. W. with B N A D F G K L P etc.

19. Eph. v. 15. πῶς after ἀκριβ. P. T. W. Tr-mg. with B N* 17. Memph. Orig.—before, Tr. with A. N^c D rel.

20. Eph. v. 19. τῇ καρδίᾳ P. T. W. with B N*—ἐν τ. κ. Tr. with (A. N^c D F G P 67) K L etc.

21. Eph. v. 22. ἵποτασσέσθωσεν Tr. [Tr-mg]. with N A P 17. Memph. Vulg. Arm. Aeth. etc.—omit, P. T. W. with B. Clem. Hier.

22. Eph. v. 28. καὶ οἱ ἀνδ. P. Tr. [W] with B A D F G P 17. Memph. Vulg. etc.—omit καὶ. T. with N K L 37. 47. Pst. Arm. Aeth. etc.

23. Eph. v. 31. τοῦ πατ. P. T. [W] with N A D^c K L P. 17. 37. 47.—omit τὸν. Tr. with B D* F G etc.

24. Eph. v. 31. τὴν μητ. P. T. [W] with N A D^c K L P etc. as above—omit τὴν, Tr. with B D* F G etc.

25. Eph. v. 31. πρὸς τὴν γυναικα P. W. with B N^c D^c K L (P) 47. Orig.—τῇ γυναικi. T. Tr. W-mg. with N* A D* F G. 7. 37 etc.

26. Eph. v. 31. add αὐτὸν P. W. Tr. with MSS. mss.—omit T with N. Marcion.

27. Eph. vi. 5. τῆς (before καρδ.) Tr. W. P. with MSS. mss. etc.—omit. T. with N. and 13 mss. Orig. Catena-Cr.

28. Eph. vi. 6. τὸν (before χριστοῦ) P. with D^c L K 37.—omit T. Tr. W with N B A D* F G etc.

29. Eph. vi. 8. ὁ ἐαν P with N^c (L) 47 etc—οἱ ἐν Tr. with (A) D F. G. P. (37) Vulg. (Memph) etc.—ἐαν T. W. with B. L*. Peter of Alex.

30. Eph. vi. 8. κομισταὶ P. with N^c D^c K L 17. 37. 47.—κομισεται T. Tr. W with B N* A D* F. G. etc.

31. Eph. vi. 21. καὶ ὑμεῖς after εἰδῆτε P. W. with B K L 37. 47. Syrr. Arm. Aeth. [Memph]—before, T. Tr. W-mg. with N A D F G P etc.

The eight cases (8, 12, 13, 17, 18, 28, 29, 30) where P stands alone are all such that the variants would not be represented as variants in a translation, and, therefore, on which the Revision Committee refrained from expressing an opinion;* they ought to be omitted from our count. Of the rest, W stands alone in one case (15) and alone with the Revisers in five more (1, 2, 14, 25, 31); that is, T + Tr, stand against W in six cases. These will naturally be looked upon as *the test-passages*, and the question asked whether W is here justified in deserting the *consensus* of editors. Put the evidence for the rejected readings in these cases together, and we arrive at the principle of action. Here they stand in a column:

No. (1). N D E K, etc.
 " (2). (N^c) D F G 47, etc.
 " (14). N* A D F G L P, etc.
 " (15). N A D F G K L P.
 " (25). B D* F G.
 " (31). N A D F G P, etc.

We see at a glance that the rejected reading—however much or however little is added to them—has yet always on its side the *dis-*

* Compare Revised N. T., Oxford ed., pica demy 8vo, p. xiii.; Palmer's edition of its text, p. 1; Scrivener's edition of its text, p. vi.

tinctively Western documents; and moreover, that this is the only thing the rejected groups have in common. We see at once the principle involved, and the correctness of the procedure. How fully the new text is governed by the consistent application of this genealogical principle will appear on noting the authority which has swayed it in all the 31 cases. Except in such cases as 13, 18, 26, 27, 28, 30, where the Western text unites with the Neutral against Alexandrian or later corruption, and where, therefore, the accepted text rests on a peculiarly sound basis,—W rejects the reading supported by the Western documents throughout—with only three exceptions (4, 7, 22), and two of these (7, 22) it accepts with some doubt. The groups thus rejected include nearly every possible variety of further attestation, short of the union with the Western of the whole Neutral group, and agree only in this one particular,—that they all embody the specifically Western documents. On a calm consideration we can feel no doubt as to the correctness of the decision given; and indeed, can entertain doubt as to choice of the new editors only in one or two of the three exceptions they have made to their usual rule (4, 7, 22).

On the other hand, Tischendorf stands alone nine times (4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 16, 22, 26, 27), and Trézelles also nine times (3, 6, 9, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 29). A single glance at Tischendorf's peculiar readings shows that they are all probably due to overestimation of \aleph . The attestation for them runs all the way from \aleph alone among MSS. (as in 26; see also 27) up to \aleph A C² D F G (10); and in most cases it seems certain that W. has rightly sided with Tregelles in rejecting them (e.g. in 26, 16, 11, 10, and 5). Where Tregelles stands alone, it is always through following a numerical majority of old documents and a combination of Western documents with other primary uncials. Thus we have Western documents in 3 supported by \aleph ,—in 6 by B C,—in 9, 23, 24 by B,—in 19, 20 by A,—in 21 by \aleph A. This would have been sound procedure provided that these uncials were really independent of the Western group,—and it was on this assumption that Tregelles so proceeded,—but since they all have an element of Western corruption (in Paul), manifestly to act on such a rule is simply to betray the text into the hands of Western error. We cannot, therefore, fail to conclude that W. has rightly sided with Tischendorf against Tregelles in all these passages.

If the Epistle to the Ephesians is a fair sample of the new text,*

* That it is a fair sample of the text in Paul's epistles may be gathered from a com-

therefore, it is pretty evident that in the newly-published edition we have the best considered and most carefully framed—and therefore, also, the most perfect—text which has yet been given to the public. It is, consequently, a matter of deep gratulation, that the company of Revisers for our English New Testament not only had this text in their hands, but seem to have—not, indeed, mechanically, but with intelligent coincidence of judgment,—followed it pretty closely,—just how closely in this epistle is somewhat remarkable. A glance at the list given above will show that in only three cases would one have to alter Westcott and Hort's text to obtain the text which underlies the present Revised New Testament (3, 6, 15). It is right to mention, however, that if our sample were not Ephesians, but the Gospel of Matthew, this resemblance (unfortunately) would not be quite so striking. Dr. Sanday* compares the various editions in 195 selected passages out of Matthew, and finds that the Revisers agree with Westcott and Hort in 146 of these, in about 100 of which there is practical agreement among the editors. In other words, the Revisers agree with Westcott and Hort in 46, and disagree with them in 49 disputed cases. It will be well for us to note the MS. attestation of these readings. B and ~~N~~ stand alone in 26 cases, and Westcott and Hort follow them each time, but never alone among editors; Tischendorf accepts them 23 times, Tregelles 13, Weiss 25, and even McClelland at least 12. So also the readings supported by B plus some other one MS. (not ~~N~~) amount to some 14 in this list. Again Westcott and Hort in company with a larger or smaller combination of editors, but never alone,

parison of the following table of the passages in which the three great editions differ in the course of 1 Cor. i.-iv. :

No.	Passage.	Rejected by	Evidence for rejected reading.
1	i. 1	W	B D F G 37.
2	2	T. Tr-mg. W	A N D ^u L P 17, 37, 47.
3	4	[Tr-mg] W	A N ^a C D F G L P, etc.
4	14	T. W	A N ^c C D F G L P. 17, 37, 47, etc.
5	28	[W]	A N ^c C* D* F G, 17.
6	ii. 1	W	B N ^c D F G L P 17, 37, 47.
7	2	Tr. W	A N F G L 47.
8	9	Tr. W	N D F G L P 17, 37, 47.
9	10	Tr-mg. W	A N ^a C D F G L P 17, 47.
10	15	[Tr] W	A C D* F G.
11	iii. 16	Tr-mg. W	B P 17, 37.
12	iv. 13	Tr-mg. T. W	B N ^c D F G L 37, 47.
13	14	T. Tr-mg. W	B D F G L 37, 47.
14	17	Tr. W	A N ^a P. 17.
15	17	T. [W]	A B D ^c L P 47.

* *The Expositor* for October, 1881.

accept them all; Tischendorf accepts 7 of them, Tregelles 9, Weiss 9, and McClelland 7. Singular readings of B amount to some 6; followed again each time by Westcott and Hort, and again always with the consent of some other editor, although in three cases with only one (*i. e.*, Lachmann once and Tregelles twice); in two cases they have the support of two (Tregelles and Weiss, and McClelland and Weiss); and in one case of the majority. From this it is evident that the new editors have not been absolutely singular in their devotion to their favorite documents.

This will appear in a still stronger light if we will try their work by another test. The passages from Matthew were *selected*, and it is mere accident that B is always followed in them. A very clear notion, both of the consistency with which the new editors follow the documentary attestation as interpreted by genealogical evidence and internal evidence of groups, and also of the readiness with which internal evidence is heard and permitted to outweigh all external testimony, may be gained by trying the new text by the list of *monstra* supported by B ~~N~~, or at least by B, given by Dr. Scrivener,* and constantly condemned by him with such epithets as "transparent (or 'frigid,' or 'feeble') gloss," 'intolerable,' "against common sense." In 27 (out of 38) of these cases Westcott and Hort print the reading in their text, although in five of them between brackets, and in three with the suspicion of its being a primitive error. In eleven cases they reject the reading, although in three of these (only one of them, however, in the Gospels) it is read by B ~~N~~, with more or less support (in one case by B ~~N~~ C L U T, etc., and in another by B ~~N~~ D H—this last obelized), in two by B D, and in five by B plus secondary authorities, and only in one by B alone. They have the support of either Lachmann, Tregelles, or Tischendorf, or of two or of all of them, in 14 out of the 27 cases, in which they accept the *monstra*, whereby it is again shown that their judgment is not so peculiar in such cases as we are sometimes invited to suspect. These facts are consistent with no other supposition than this: these editors follow the reading which the best MSS. commend, not because they are "worshippers" of B or of B ~~N~~, but only because they follow tested external evidence more consistently than any previous editor when it is not undoubtedly in conflict with internal evidence, and because they cannot in every case bring themselves to agree with the subjective school as to the true force and bearing of the internal evidence. Clearly, they would reject the 27 accepted *monstra* as

* Page 471.

readily as they have the 11 rejected ones, if only it could be proved to them that they were *monstra*. Until that is done they rightly judge that the best attested reading must stand. In other words, their practice gives us distinctly to understand that while they stand ready to set aside any external testimony on the clear demand of combined paradiplomatic and internal evidence, they do not stand ready to reject the guidance of all three forms of testimony, and subject the text to guess-work reconstruction, or to corruption by readings whose only support is that they "find us." The effort they make—and the tendency of their example—is to oppose the intrusion of arbitrary readings from whatever source they come, and to make up a text wholly on evidence, and not one variety of evidence solely, but with a wise and consistent regard to all the sources from which testimony comes to us.

After having given thus a calm review of the work of the new editors, we feel bound, in closing, to express our conviction of its great value very clearly. We cannot doubt but that the leading principles of method which they have laid down will meet with speedy universal acceptance. They furnish us for the first time with a really scientific method; they reduce guesswork reconstruction to the narrowest limits, and substitute for it a sound inductive procedure. The individuals who will feel called upon to oppose them will pass quietly away and leave no successors. And it is to be hoped that scholars will quickly recognize the lines of investigation which promise well for the advancement of the science, and abstracting themselves from all else, throw themselves with energy into the closer study of the relations between the documents which we already possess, or which may from time to time be dragged out of hiding and given to the public. Nor can we hesitate to say that the text which the new editors have given us is, in our judgment, the best and purest that has ever passed through the press, and, for the future, must be recognized as the best basis for further work. It pretends to be "no more than an approximation to the purest text that might be formed from existing materials"; much certainly "remains to be done for the perfection of the results now obtained"; and many readings now admitted which rank in probability in present light only a very slight shade above rejected readings given in the margin, the future must (in some few cases the present may) re-examine and attempt to point out more clearly the true place for. All this is not strange: practice must ever lag behind principle. But now, at last, the *truth has been touched*,

and although he—the consummate critic—is still hidden in the womb of the future, who can say:

“Man climb until he touched the truth, and I,
Even I, am he whom it was destined for,”

still the praise due to those who have first made it possible to look for his coming out of the immediate future is by no means small. And, in the meanwhile, the teacher and preacher alike may rest upon and use the text already in hand with the calm consciousness that substantially the autographic text is before him, and that probably all future criticism will not result in throwing doubt on more than one word of it in a thousand. If, as Bentley says, the true text is competently (for the ordinary purposes of life and teaching) exact in the worst copy extant, how much more is this true of the best edition yet framed? Let us all join heartily in the prayer with which Dr. Hort closes the Introduction: “that whatever labor” he and Dr. Westcott may “have been allowed to contribute toward the attainment of the truth of the letter, may also be allowed, in ways which must for the most part be invisible to them, to contribute toward strengthening, correcting, and extending human apprehension of the larger truth of the Spirit.”

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

PROFESSOR WARFIELD'S

SYLLABUS

ON THE

Canon of the New Testament

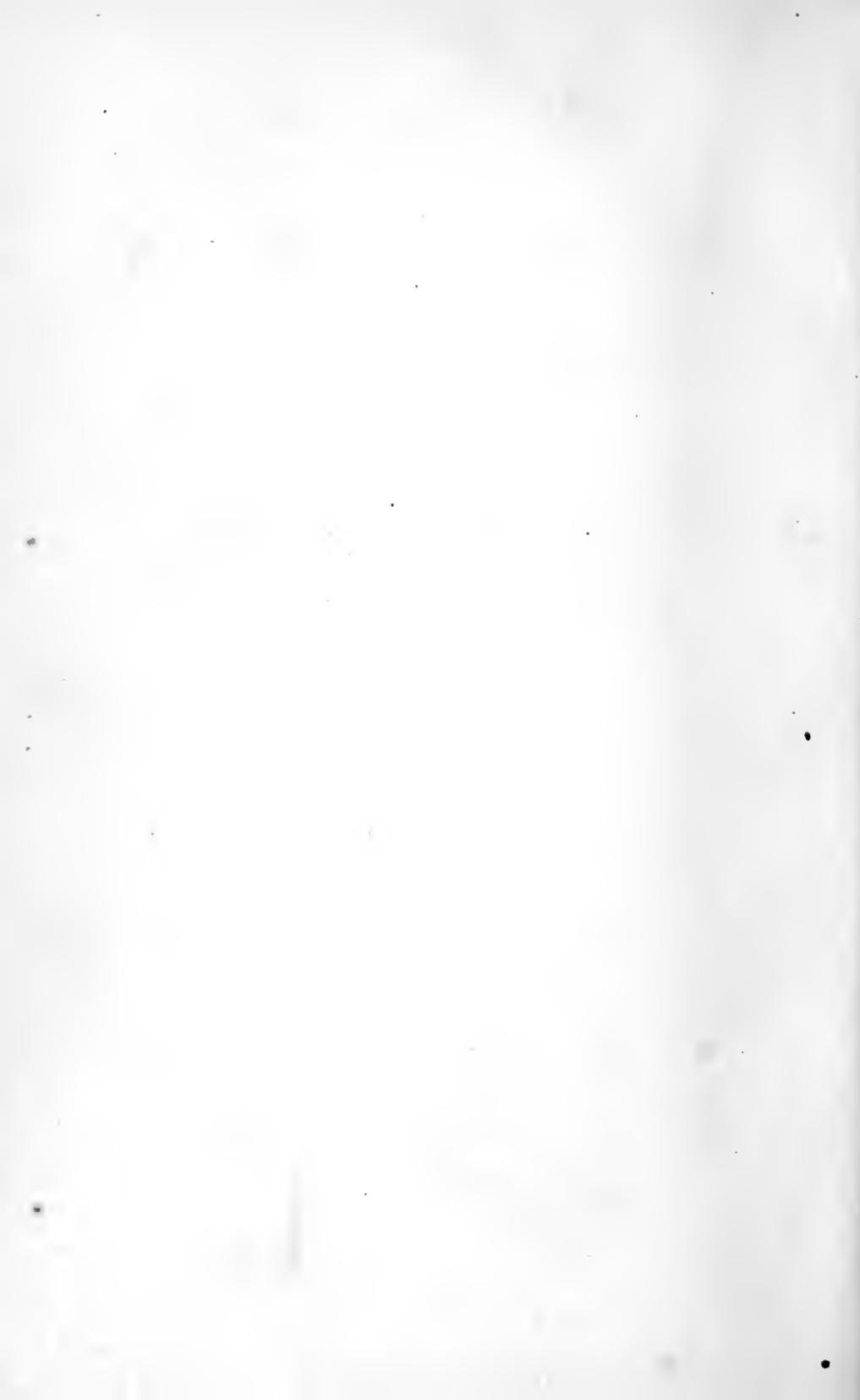
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Syllabus of Lectures ON THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON.

On the lines of the evidence for the Canon in the second century, given by Dr. Alexander in his "New Testament Literature," §59, the chief battle with the so-called critical school of scepticism is being fought out, and it therefore becomes necessary to examine this period somewhat more in detail. A certain school of writers, called the "*Tuebingen School*," from the University where its founders taught, and the "*Critical School*," from its method of procedure, forced by the necessities of its position, has made it its business to undermine the received account of the first and second centuries, and reconstruct their whole history in accord with its own theories. Holding to the Pantheistic Philosophy of Hegel, these writers were committed to the denial of a *personal* God; this necessarily carried with it the rejection of *Revelation*, and of all divine interposition. Christianity itself, therefore, as well as its records, must be (on this hypothesis), the natural growth of time; both alike perfectly natural phenomena, explicable, as the rise of Stoicism or Platonism is explicable, without the supposition of any other causes than purely human ones—the interaction of the prevalent ideas of the time, and the influence of human imagination and human passion. The New Testament thus becomes a *human growth* instead of a *divine gift*; it mirrors in its bosom, for the reading of the seeing eye, not the sublime vision of the spirit of man, subject to the infinite Spirit of God, and devoutly repeating that Spirit's message,—but rather the ordinary spectacle of the interplay of human follies, and human hatreds and strifes. Bitter contentions of men, false compacts of parties, lying miracles invented for a purpose, conciliating histories framed out of the imagination,—these are the elements of which it is composed.

And its authors were silly recounters of marvels, shameless forgers, fierce party leaders, and unscrupulous conciliators.

Now, it is evident, that such a literature as the New Testament is here supposed to be, could not have sprung up suddenly: it implies a long period of growth—nay, it itself marks the various stages of a long growth. In it are traced the beginning and progress of the strife, and the subsequent conciliation. It is the *product of time*; and time must be had for its making. It was thus inevitable that this school of writers should be forced by their very exigencies to demand the most of the second century for the composition of the Biblical books. In order to get it they have gone systematically to work to discredit all the records which have come down to us from that century, and overturn all we know of the period. Every writing of the earlier part of the second century which witnessed to the prior existence of any of the books now constituting our Canon, (the authenticity of which it pleased them to deny), had to be dealt with. The writing itself was declared spurious or interpolated; or, the references in it to our New Testament were denied, or referred to hypothetical books. The result is a complete reconstruction of the history of the second century.

When we remember that this is now probably the most popular of all forms of sceptical criticism; and when we hear the crude theorizing, and deliberate falsification of history, for which this school is responsible, heralded about us as assured and proven truth, we will see the importance of attempting to gain some accurate idea of the real state of the question.

SECTION I.

We may take as our starting point the closing quarter of the second century. What was the state of the Canon then? If we except, for the present, the seven Antilegomena, or Disputed Books*—a sufficient account of which you will find in Dr. Alexander's New Testament Literature, §§59–67,—it is a notorious fact that the last quarter of the second century knew and acknowledged the same books which we acknowledge, and paid them the same reverence which we pay them. *Universally* over the church, four Gospels, and but four, (confessedly

*That is, of course, Heb., Rev., James, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, and Jude. The name comes from Eusebius, (see Dr. Alexander's New Testament Literature, §55), although he included under it only the last five of these books.

the same as ours),—the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of Paul, one of John and one of Peter--were accepted and accounted as inspired ; and no book now accounted apocryphal received the like testimony. In other words, exactly our Canon with no additions, and with at most but seven exceptions—all of which can be satisfactorily accounted for—was, universally, already firmly established, in the same sense, and with the same authority as now. The universal acceptance, at this period, of these books, is admitted by all schools and all parties. We shall briefly give some of the evidence, however, because it implies and includes more than is always recognized.

SECTION II.

Taking the testimony of the great branches of the church in turn, we appeal first to the church of Alexandria, which was already assuming the first rank in point of importance of all centers of Christian learning. A famous Christian school had been established there since the earliest times, and the testimony of this church becomes thus the testimony of learned and critical men. Here we cite *Clement of Alexandria*, the first book of whose great work (*Stromateis*) was written A. D. 194 or 195. All the books of our New Testament were known and used by him. Except James, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John, and Philemon, which it seems he has nowhere in his extant books quoted or alluded to, all are quoted in the works we have from him. He quotes 1st John, however, under that name, and that implies at least one other Johannean Epistle ; and Eusebines has told us, that in his “*Hypotyposes*,” now lost, he gave “concise explanations of all the canonical Scriptures, *without omitting the disputed books* :—I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the remaining Catholic Epistles ; as well as the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Revelation of Peter.” Clement certainly knew, therefore, all our books, as his younger contemporary, Origen, did, (the only possibility—and that very small—of doubt, being with reference to 2d Peter and 3d John), and he certainly held as canonical all he knew. He was more inclined to err, in fact, on the side of admitting too many, than of excluding any. Thus he quotes with respect the Epistles of Clement of Rome, and of Barnabas, (naming each writer—of course in the broader sense, “The Apostle”), and the Shepherd of Hermas ; besides quoting several

apocryphal books. There is nothing to show, however, that he accorded the same respect to any of these which he did to the canonical books; and in the case of the apocryphal gospels, which he quotes, he certainly did not, as he expressly limits the authoritative gospels to our four. The fact remains, therefore, that all of our books were known to Clement, and were accepted by him as of decisive authority. He even witnesses to their collection in a definite form (or “Canon”), under the current title of those days—“The Gospel and the Apostle”;—appeals to the harmony of the Law and the Prophets, and of the Apostles and Gospels in the church; and declares that they were “all ratified by the authority of Almighty power.” Now notice that this is not merely a personal judgment of Clement’s, but represents the judgment of the Alexandrian Church. Origen follows him with a like Canon, and Clement boldly appeals to the testimony of those who had gone before him. It was the *traditional* opinion, then, of the Alexandrian Church—and of more than the Alexandrian Church. For, as Clement himself tells us, he had wandered far, and studied under various masters:—an Ionian Greek, an Italian, a Syrian, an Egyptian, an Assyrian, and a Hebrew, had all been among his teachers;—and these, he tells us, all “preserved the true tradition of the blessed teaching, direct from the Apostles.” Clement’s testimony, then, is not to a single man’s private opinion; it was traditional in the Alexandrian Church, and all the world agreed with it. It stretches over the preceding generation, and comes from the whole church.

SECTION III.

Contemporary with Clement, *Tertullian* flourished in the Church of North Africa, and he bears equal witness to the Canon. His testimony extends to the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul, James, 1st John, 1st Peter, Jude and Revelation;—to all of our New Testament, that is, except four of the Antilegomena, viz: Hebrews, 2d Peter, 2d and 3d John. His position with reference to Hebrews is, however, in doubt. To the books to which he witnesses, his allusions are explicit and precise, and he accords them all authority as Divine. Nor is his testimony to scattered books, but even more plainly than Clement’s to a collected “canon.” “If I shall not clear up this point,” he writes on one occasion, “by investigations

of the old scriptures, I will take the proof of our interpretation from the New Testament. * * For lo, both in the Gospels and in the Apostles" (the same phrase, notice, which we found Clement using for the New Testament), "I notice," &c. Several times he says he will appeal to proofs "drawn from each Testament." God was the author of both, he gives us to understand, and the same God of both. He condemns Marcion for the assertion that there were different Gods who were the authors, "each of one Instrument, or, as it is more usual to say, Testament." He assumes as the foundation of his reasoning, that this "Evangelical Instrument rests on Apostolic authority."

Again, he is not expressing in this only his own opinions; he can count on the agreement of his readers—even on the unwilling conviction of his heretical opponents. He is appealing to well known and universally acknowledged facts, and so can afford to base his arguments on these assumptions. He speaks, therefore, the accepted opinion—nay, the firm conviction of the whole African Church. Nor is it a conviction of late growth; he also confidently appeals to antiquity and is conscious that he is upheld by immemorial tradition. When arguing for the complete Gospel of Luke against Marcion's mutilations: "In fine," he says, "if it be admitted that that is truer, which is older,—that older, which is from the beginning,—that from the beginning which is from the Apostles;—it will certainly be equally admitted that that is derived from the Apostles which is inviolate in the churches of the Apostles;" and after appealing to the various churches of Corinth, Galatia, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus and Rome, etc., he continues: "I say, then, that among these, and not only among the Apostolic churches but among the whole of those which are united with them in sacred fellowship, that Gospel of Luke to which we so strongly hold, has been maintained since its first publication." To such a tradition he appeals not only for Luke but also for the canon:—"The same authority," he expressly says, "will uphold the other Gospels,"—naming them as Matthew, Mark and John.

Tertullian's testimony, then, is that not only he in his day held, but the universal church from their first publication had held, the books of his canon as Apostolic and divinely authoritative sacred books. His testimony is the testimony of his

church and of the whole church to books not newly written, but received as a legacy from the preceding generation as the inspired word of God, given through the Apostles.

And there is another aspect of Tertullian's testimony to which it is worth while to advert. He writes in Latin and quotes from a Latin Bible. From his writings we learn that this version had already a firmly established hold on the North African Church as the recognized version. It had been long enough in circulation to form the theological nomenclature of the country. From Tertullian's references to it we learn that it consisted of an Old and New Testament,—bearing those names, which indeed he would have liked to change into "Instruments." Now, Tertullian's literary activity began not later than 190. At 190, therefore, this Latin N. T., bearing that name, and containing a collection of books identical with Tertullian's canon, was OLD,—certainly not less than a quarter of a century old,—probably much older. At the lowest estimate, therefore, Tertullian's testimony is valid, in terms, for the North African Church as far back as 165. At a just and reasonable estimate much farther.

SECTION IV.

IRENÆUS, the next witness whom we shall summon, combines in himself the testimony of two great churches,—those of Asia Minor and of Gaul,—but two churches so closely connected with one another that they should be considered probably as one. Born and brought up in Asia where he sat at the feet of Polycarp, the disciple of John, he became first, presbyter and then, after the death of Pothinus in 177, bishop of the church at Lyons. His great work entitled "Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge, falsely so-called," consisted of five books, the *third* of which we know to have been written before 190; and the first of which was probably written about 175. His literary activity, therefore, extended over the whole of the fourth quarter of the second century. His testimony covers the four Gospels, Acts, the Epistles of Paul (he has not quoted Philemon, however,) 1 and 2 John, 1 and 2 Peter, Hebrews and Revelation; omitting, therefore, 3 John, Jude, and possibly James,—to which last there are doubtful allusions. His allusions to the Scriptures are in fact constant: over 200 quotations are made from Paul alone; and

some 400 from the Gospels, of which about 80 are from John. He uses them in such a manner as to show that the New Testament books were to him just what they are to us; they are treated with the same respect with which we treat them, and are dealt with throughout as the word of God and the depositories of absolute truth. "He treats them as on a level with the canonical books of the Old Testament, and cites them as Scripture in the same way, attributing them to the authors whose names they bear," (*Lightfoot.*) And he not only knows them well himself, but like Clement and Tertullian, he bears witness to others' knowledge of them, by quietly and as a matter of course assuming in his readers a full acquaintance with them and estimation of them as divine. In his view, a declaration of the New Testament should stop every mouth; and he made his final appeal to it.

And again, like those other writers whom we have named, his testimony is valid for the preceding age. He has introduced no novelty into the church by his use of Scripture as authoritative; he received these books from his predecessors and on their authority regards them as authoritative writings handed down from the Apostles. He feels, rather, that he would be an innovator if he should deny their authority. "So firm is the grounding of our Gospels," he says, "that even the heretics bear witness to them, and each one must endeavor to prove his doctrine by taking his start from them." Such is the strength and bearing of his testimony, indeed, that it has been said by a great critic, and I think the assertion true, that had we the testimony of Irenæus alone, it itself would authenticate our canon. To feel this fully keep firmly in your mind that the canon was a palpable fact to Irenæus—a collection of books received from the Fathers, as the divine Scriptures, and reverenced as the Word of God. Not only does he receive our four Gospels, and only them, but it seems to him that they could not in the very nature of the case have been more or less in number. Mystical reasons are assigned for their fourfold character; the types of the Old Testament seemed to him to necessitate it. The teaching of the greatest of his predecessors commends itself best to him, because (in his own words) "it was in all things harmonious with the Scriptures." In short, the church of the nineteenth century has no more fully accepted the Scriptures than

Irenæus had in the second century, and the grounds of his acceptance are the same as those on which we accept them, that they came to him fully authenticated, in a historical way, as the divine word from the Apostles.

Now, notice the vast importance of this fact. Irenæus became bishop in 177. At that early date, then, could the New Testament be so spoken of;—at that early date was it a possession received from the Fathers as the authoritative Word of God. Already had the quadruple Gospel been for so long the possession of the church to the exclusion of all others, that men had begun to think that its quadruple form was not only the natural but the necessary form for it to take. Already it was a commonplace to write (as Irenæus does,) “The sacred Scriptures truly are perfect; since they were uttered by the Word of God and his Spirit.” Clearly it is an indubitable fact that Irenæus had been familiar with these as God’s word from his birth; clearly, as he himself insists, those from whom he received them, held them in the same honor as himself, and believed as firmly that they were apostolic and authoritative. Clearly no place for their composition,—and, more than that, no time when they were not received as the writings of the apostles,—can be found during his lifetime or the lifetime of his immediate predecessors and teachers.

Now, Irenæus’ teacher was Polycarp, who, martyred in 155 at the age of 86, was the pupil of St. John, his life lapping with St. John’s life 30 years. Again, the Bishop whom Irenæus succeeded in Lyons, and whose Presbyter he was, was Pothinus, who was above 90 at his martyrdom in 177,—thus again making the connection with the Apostolic age. Through both channels, therefore,—and through others also—Irenæus’ testimony takes us quite back to the Apostolic period. It is admitted on all sides that his testimony is unassailable;—this is its bearing:—it covers the whole period between himself and the Apostles.

SECTION V.

If more evidence from this period be desired, we would refer to the Church of Syria which certainly by this time, probably much earlier, possessed their own Syriac translation of the New Testament, which certainly contained all of our books

except 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude and Revelation,* and probably at this date these also. The significance of this fact is for Syria, altogether similar to the significance of the old Latin version for North Africa. It shows us what books were accepted in Syria as canonical at this time, and bears the same retrospective testimony for the preceding generation. That the books had been, prior to this period, collected and translated, shows the estimation in which they were held; and as this testimony has a church instead of an individual significance, it is of even more importance as testimony to the Canon than the witness of a single Father could be.

We thus learn from this version that the Syrian churches held in the last quarter of the second century, and had held for some time previously all the books of our New Testament as canonical, with the possible but not probable exception of the 5 antilegomena named above.

SECTION VI.

Here we may profitably pause to sum up results: More testimony could be furnished but what we have before us will be sufficient for our purposes. We have before us the testimony of the last quarter of the second century, and from it we see that the Churches of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Gaul and North Africa, are at one in their witness to at least all the acknowledged (*homologoumena*) books of our canon. These books are known wherever there is a church, and are known only to be received as apostolic in origin and final in authority. And not only does the church of this period everywhere hold to them,—everywhere it holds to them, as a heritage from the preceding age. Tertullian, Irenæus, Clement, all appeal to the general church and to the firm tradition of the Fathers in support of their use of them. In a word, everywhere the scriptures are known and received as divine; and everywhere the men of this generation witness that their teachers of the last generation held these scriptures in the same honor, and taught them to so reverence them. They accept these books just as their fathers did; in holding them in such honor, they are

*The Peshito version in its present form and from the time of Chrysostom omits these books; but there is reason to believe that in its earlier form it contained them. (See Hilgenfeld's Introduction, etc., p. 111.)

only imitating the practice of those who were old when themselves were young.

Now this testimony takes us back to the Apostolic period, and itself authenticates our canon. For the teachers of the men who flourished during the last quarter of the second century, were contemporary with the contemporaries of the Apostles. And if they thus held the books as an inherited apostolic and divine collection, they must have received them as such from these apostolically taught men. Nay, we have seen that Irenæus' teachers where themselves taught of John; what he handed down, then, comes with John's sanction.

Considerations supporting this conclusion are not wanting. The fact that the knowledge of these books and the recognition of their supreme authority was already *universal* in the church, at least as early as the generation preceding 175, is itself significant. On the hypothesis that they were human productions, time must be had for the collection of the books, and very much time for the acquirement of such authority. Time must be had also for their spread—in manuscript remember,—over the whole world. The fact of this wide-spread acceptance of them at this date, therefore itself puts their composition back into the first century.

This result is very much strengthened again by the fact that already at least two versions of these collected scriptures had been made and were in common and authorized use in two branches of the church. To these Latin and Syriac versions should also be added a third:—the *Egyptian* in at least one of its forms. Whether the books were collected and afterwards translated, or translated each as a divine book, and afterwards collected into a volume of divine books, makes very little difference to the argument. In either case time is wanted and the books could not have been first composed in the second century.

And still again: the *books themselves* bear the unmistakable marks of age. Not only are they used as old books, but they show in themselves the traces of old age. Whether we examine the quotations from the original Greek in the Greek authors of the time (such as Irenæus and Clement) or the quotations from the Latin version found in the Latin authors of the time, or the text of the old copies of the Syriac version which was used by the Syriac writers of the

time, we find certain signs of old age in the text. The text has already grown corrupt, and comparatively speaking, *very* corrupt. Various errors have crept in,—mistakes of copyists, attempted corrections of scribes, such errors in fact as can be accounted for only on the supposition that the books had been *much copied*. We thus know that the Greek manuscripts from which, say the old Latin version which Tertullian used and which could not have been made later than 150, was made, were not taken immediately from the autographs of the authors, but were rather copies of copies and so on to a considerable series—they already had a considerable genealogy. Now this implies time. The books which had such a history before the version was made, on any reasonable estimation of the time for the growth of such various readings, could not have been written first in the second century. This position again is still farther strengthened by the *character of the corruptions*. More than this,—the character of some of the most important corruptions proves that the gospels, at least, were translated not from separate books, but from an already formed collection. For, in parallel passages, a fertile source of corruption was an effort (conscious or more commonly unconscious) to harmonize the statements of the different gospels. This shows long familiarity with them as a body. Before this could have unconsciously happened one gospel must have been so well known that its phraseology had engrafted itself into the memory of the scribe; so that in copying the parallel in another the phraseology of the first tended to creep in unawares between the catching of the sentence in the original and its writing down in the copy. Conscious harmonic alterations presuppose no less a knowledge of all four, and a desire to have them not even seemingly contradict one another, which in turn shows that great interests were staked on their absolute and detailed truth. From both phenomena it follows that the gospels must have existed for a long period as co-ordinately authoritative before even the Old Latin version was made; and this again seems to carry their *composition* back out of the second century. The version was ancient to Tertullian in 190; the originals of the New Testament books were ancient to the version.

SECTION VII.

Had we no evidence whatever, therefore, back of what we could gain from the testimony of the fourth quarter of the second century, this testimony alone would suffice to absolutely forbid the assignment of a late origin to the books of our canon,—this testimony itself would force back the composition of our books into the apostolic period. This is the starting point which we wished to gain for our examination of the evidence for the canon during the disputed three-fourths of a century immediately preceding this. We wish to examine the testimony of the first seventy-five years of the century in the light of the evidence for the last twenty-five. Let it be remembered that there is no dispute about the estimation in which the canon was held in these last twenty-five years. The dispute is only as to the bearing of this estimation. The sceptics say, for instance, that Irenæus' testimony is only to his individual opinion and has no retrospective meaning,—and that, in the face of his constant appeals to antiquity. The greatest fallacy of their reasoning lies just here, in supposing that the writers of this age could speak as we have seen them speaking of books written during their lifetime and foisted on the church within their own memory. These fathers may have been uncritical, but this would require them to have been abject idiots. Their witness, on the contrary, as we have seen, has a vast retrospective importance, and covers in fact the preceding age. Starting from this fact, we wish now to examine the testimony of the first seventy-five years of the second century.

SECTION VIII.

In proceeding to this examination, the first important question which presents itself, is one of *interpretation of evidence* ;—shall the highest possible or the lowest possible interpretation which the words will bear be put on the allusions to the canon which we shall find ? Our opponents demand that the *lowest* possible shall be put on them ; and apologists have too often conceded the point in their practice. This is the great vice of the Historic method. In direct contentions with gainsayers, such a practice may be justifiable ; for there exists sufficient proof for our canon in these seventy-five years taken by themselves to establish our conclusions—even when the lowest pos-

sible interpretation is put on each allusion. And, therefore, it serves good purposes in argument to assume our opponents' principles, and then beat them from the field. But when our business is the discovery of the exact truth, and not merely the silencing of opposition, such a practice is manifestly misleading. If we seek exact truth, rather than ultra-moderation in our interpretation of the evidence, we can, in the light of what we have already learned from the testimony of the period of Irenæus, do no less than ascribe the fullest meaning the phraseology will bear, to the scattered notices of the canon which we may find in previous ages. We should in each case strive to avoid immoderate moderation, no less than immoderate exaggeration in our estimation of evidence, and seek to obtain the *exact truth* in the light of all we know of the period—no more, certainly, and just as certainly no less. Too great moderation gives as false an idea of the period as too great exaggeration ; what we want is the *truth* about the position of the canon in the first seventy-five years of the second century. Part of the evidence is the retrospective evidence of the next twenty-five years ; and if we omit this factor in our interpretation, we cannot hope to arrive at truth. The weight of every allusion must, therefore, be judged of in the light of the testimony of Irenæus and his contemporaries. If a writer in Asia Minor, about 150, for example, fails to mention St John's gospel, we can not conclude St. John's gospel was not known in Asia Minor at that time—for Irenæus sat at the feet of Polycarp, of Smyrna, several years previous to 155, and Irenæus received that gospel as a legacy from his teachers. And so : throughout, omit to take account of the retrospective testimony of the last quarter, and we falsify the history of the previous three-quarters of the century, and land ourselves in absurdities. In the search for *truth*, therefore, we shall interpret the facts of the first seventy-five years, in the light of the evidence of the succeeding twenty-five years of the century.

SECTION IX.

The next point of importance for us to keep in mind, is the *character of the testimony which we are to expect* during this period. And here we must remember, first of all, that the New Testament was not presented as a completed whole to the church. Its canon was a gradual growth. Because a

simple collection of books known to be inspired, it was a very much more rapid growth than our opponents imagine, but still it was a growth. Its books were composed one by one and given each, when composed, to the church ; the majority of them were addressed to particular churches, and given to them ; they had to find their way over the world, each book by itself ;—in other words, they had to be collected before they formed a canon. This collection may have reached different stages of completeness, even at the same time, in different churches ; and we are not to assume too rashly that a writer has all the books because he witnesses to some. We are to assume only just so much as the whole evidence in each case justifies. Had we the whole of the early Christian literature complete in our hands, the one thing we could ask would be that we should find proofs of the existence and authority of all the books from the earliest times, as books. We could not demand that every early writer should witness to every book—every modern writer does not do that. Nor could we expect to find the limits of the canon tightly drawn from the very beginning. The Apostles gave no canon—they gave only books, and scattered them in the giving. The canon was complete when all the books were collected. This collection was the work of uninspired man, and the work of time. The more important books, indeed, were early in the hands of the whole church—as we shall see, as early as John's death ; but it may possibly have been somewhat later before the smaller books of the Antilegomena reached the like universal acceptance. We are not, then, to prejudge the question, but seek evidence. We can, *a priori*, expect in the early witnesses, only witness to books—not to the canon in our sense ; and witness to collections of books of various degrees of completeness ;—but these books must be witnessed to, not only as existing, but as possessing an authority above that of merely human productions. What we shall find more than this, must be understood to be in excess of what could have been reasonably expected.

SECTION X.

Had we the whole literature of the time, we say, such would be the character of the testimony which we could justly expect. But it is important to notice next that we have not this whole literature, but only the merest fragments of it. Omit-

ting the Clementina and the writings of Justin, one octavo volume could very readily be made to contain the whole of the extant remains from the first seventy-five years of this century. We cannot, therefore, expect such full testimony either to books or to collections of books as otherwise we would be justified in looking for. It would not have been surprising in fact had we in such scanty fragments failed to find any proof of the existence of books which yet that period possessed; and certainly the scantiness of the sources of information should thoroughly excuse scantiness of evidence. We shall find that we gain sure witness from this period for every one of our books—a most surprising result, and considering the fragmentary character of the remains which have reached us, one which was not at all to be expected.

SECTION XI.

Nor is it less important in this same line of reasoning to consider the *character* of these extant fragments of early Christian literature. If their scant and fragmentary nature forbids us to expect from them copious evidence for our Scriptures, much more does their internal character. In no case has a controversial writing of Christian to Christian, in which therefore we might expect frequent appeals to the Scriptures, come down to us. The first of these which we have belong to the fourth quarter of the century, and it is significant that from their first appearance the position of our canon becomes indisputable. In all cases the earlier writings which are extant are of such a nature that any reference to our Scriptures in them must be purely incidental. “A few letters of consolation and warning, two or three apologies addressed to heathen” (and in which appeals to Scripture would be manifestly out of place) “a controversy with a Jew,” (wherein the Old Testament alone could be appealed to,) “a vision” and “a scanty gleaning of fragments of lost works on various subjects,” constitute almost all the literature we have for the whole period. Allusions to the New Testament in them are purely incidental;—which fact adds to the *force* of the evidence, if properly appreciated, as much as it detracts from its fulness. But it indisputably does detract from the fulness of reference. We must note also the following results:—on account of the nature of these writings we are to look for “allu-

sions" to Scripture rather than "quotations,"—we are to search for *coincidences* with their words and thoughts, rather than *professed citations*; we are to discover in what honor these writers held them rather by the effect they have had on their characters, thinking and language, than by searching for direct statements in regard to them. More express testimony than this is hardly to be expected; and, if found, is so much more than we have a right to ask.

SECTION XII.

This being the case, it is essential for us to inquire how close a coincidence of words with our Scriptures is requisite before we can assume they were taken from them? The question amounts to this: Do the early writers quote exactly or freely? If we know that they are in the habit of quoting freely, a very much less close coincidence will warrant us in assuming a connection between the books than would otherwise be demanded. Now, *a priori* we would expect them to quote from memory, and that means freely. And this for two reasons: Men now-a-days quote the Scriptures mostly from memory and very freely. And secondly, the physical difficulties in the way of referring to the text in those early days were almost insuperable. Manuscripts were costly and not every man possessed one, and again it was quite a different thing to unroll a cumbrous roll and search out a passage to which there were no divisions of chapter and verse to lead one—no, nor divisions of words in the line to catch the eye: from what it is to refer to our handy reference Bibles. It was quite an undertaking to turn up a passage in the mass of similar-looking solid columns; and, therefore, *memory* was much depended on, and actual reference to the manuscript sparingly indulged in. The surest way to settle the question is, however, to examine the practice of writers of that age in regard to passages admitted to be quotations, and see how exactly or freely they quote. For this purpose we may depend on: 1st, The quotations of the Old Testament in the New; 2d, The quotations from the Old Testament in the books whose New Testament quotations we are to deal with; and 3d, The quotations from the New Testament in the writers of the age of Irenæus. In each case we will find that they deal with the original in a very

free manner. Thus, from Mr. Turpie's classification of the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, we find that there are in all 275 of them. Of these, 53 agree literally with both LXX and Hebrew; 10 with the Hebrew against the LXX; and 37 with the LXX against the Hebrew;—just 100, therefore, agreeing with the original source. Again, 76 differ from LXX and Hebrew where they two agree; 99 differ from both where they differ; and 3 are so divergent from any Old Testament passage, that originals for them are difficult to find. In other words, there are 175 free quotations (some of them very free), to the one hundred exact ones. The same results will be reached in each of the other classes. 2d, Thus, following Mr. Sanday's lists we find that Clement, of Rome, gives us sixteen exact quotations from the Old Testament; twenty-four slightly variant and forty-one strikingly so. He can so blend passages from Daniel and Isaiah as to make one of them, etc., etc. Barnabas again give us sixteen exact quotations from the Old Testament: twenty-two slightly variant and forty-eight strikingly so. Ignatius gives us no exact ones, two slightly variant and one decidedly so. And Polycarp gives us two exact, one slightly variant, and one decidedly so. Thus it is throughout. Justin, for example, gives us sixty-two exact quotations, thirty-seven somewhat variant and forty-seven strikingly so. That Justin quotes from memory is the more apparent also that when he repeats a quotation he in the great majority of cases repeats it with variations from this first citation. 3d. If we turn now to the next age when men admit that the New Testament was quoted, we learn that Irenaeus, who ranks high as a careful quoter, has given us eighteen exact quotations of the New Testament: twelve slightly variant ones and sixteen strikingly variant ones. Taking Epiphanius and confining ourselves to *express* quotations, we learn that he has exactly quoted the New Testament fifteen times, inexactly thirty-nine times, and strikingly inexactly some fifty times. These are not picked examples; indeed a sufficiently strong sense of the freedom with which these writers deal with their text cannot be conveyed without giving examples. But what we have said will suffice to prove that we must look in these writers for free reminiscences and not exact quotations from the New Testament; from which follows: 1. That an exact quotation when found will carry great weight with it; it will

absolutely prove the writer took from our New Testament. 2. That a free reminiscence will render this probable; and if it preserves striking and unusual phraseology it will make it certain. 3. Several free reminiscences will be as valid proof as a direct quotation. We must judge the references in the light of all the evidence and make up our minds only after careful comparison; remembering all the time that our writer's habit is to quote from memory.

SECTION XII.

Bearing these results in mind, we may proceed to our examination of the writers themselves. We are to remember, then, that the nature of the writings is such that we are to expect only incidental references to scriptures; that the quotations being made from memory, it is not to be demanded that they should be absolutely exact; that the writings are so few and fragmentary that we cannot expect very copious evidence; that we are to look for evidence to books and to collections of books rather than necessarily to our canon in its entirety; and that we are to estimate the evidence in the light of all the testimony before us,—including that full and sufficient evidence drawn from the fourth quarter of the century.

SECTION XIV.

The *earliest series* of post-Apostolic Christian writers are classed together under the title of Apostolic Fathers, and about cover the period from the Apostolic age to the year 120. This group of writers are for a different purpose treated of by Dr. Alexander in §§ 128–136. Later investigations, however, force us to revise his account. According to the usual account the Apostolic Fathers are four:—Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Ignatius and Polycarp. To their age, however, belong also the anonymous epistle to Diognetus and the remarkable work called “The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.” We will treat the true Apostolic Fathers first, and it will serve good ends to glance at the writings themselves before appealing to them as witnesses.*

*Strictly speaking Papias and possibly Hermas are Apostolic Fathers; but Papias' work was published later than 120, and the date of Hermas' is in doubt. See §§ 38 & 53 below.

SECTION XV.

Under the name of Clement of Rome are usually published two letters,—the first of which is indubitably genuine, but the second of which is probably a fragment of a homily dating from the third decade of the second century. With the genuine letter alone we have now to do. It was addressed to the Corinthian Church in the name of the Church of Rome, and was written in answer to a communication received from Corinth, consulting the Roman Church in regard to certain disturbances which had risen in the Corinthian Church. The epistle certainly dates from the first century; but its date has been variously assigned from 67 to 97. The writer naturally and incidentally refers to Paul and perhaps Peter as contemporaries; and he speaks of a recent persecution in the Roman Church which must have been either that under Nero which would date the letter 68,—or that under Domitian which would date it 97. From the way in which he speaks of the elders, the successors of the Apostles, the last date seems most probable. Other indications point to the same conclusion, and we may assume that the letter was written about 97. As to its author, there is no reason to doubt the uniform tradition coming from the best writers of the second century, that it was written by Clement of Rome. The letter makes no direct claim to such an authorship; but the external proof is decisive, and all the internal notices harmonize with it.

As to the character of the letter itself, though not worthy of an Apostle, it is worthy of the Christian heart and pen of an Apostolical man. It is chiefly occupied with practical matters,—condemning envy, and enforcing the duties of humility, repentance and peacefulness. Its moral teaching is pure, and infinitely above any heathen writing of its time; its Christian spirit high. On the whole it is just such a letter as we might expect to come from Clement, the companion of Paul.

SECTION XVI.

Under the name of Barnabas, we have a general epistle which is ascribed by Clement of Alexandria and Jerome to the companion of St. Paul bearing that name. The internal character of the letter, however, seems against this ascription. Barnabas was a Jew and a Levite, dwelling long in Jerusalem,

and hence probably well acquainted with the rites and ceremonies of the temple. The writer of this epistle, on the other hand, was probably an Alexandrian gentile Christian, and was certainly not accurately acquainted with the Jewish rites. He not only is strongly anti-Judaic in his convictions, holding even that the Jews never possessed the Covenant of God, and that all their ceremonial rites were dictated by the Evil Spirit, but he also betrays great ignorance of the Jewish ceremonies. His Gnosticism and allegorizing interpretations of the Old Testament seem also out of harmony with the idea that he was one with him who won for himself the name of "Son of Consolation," and who so acceptably labored along with Paul. But even if the biblical Barnabas was not its author, it still remains certain that the Epistle comes to us from a very early time. Its acceptance and ascription to Barnabas by Clement of Alexandria, whose personal memory must have extended nearly to the middle of the second century, and whose teachers' recollection stretched to near its beginning, seems to force us to place its composition not later than at the verge of the second century, and to attribute it to an author bearing the name of Barnabas. Clement's opinion would become thus a not unnatural case of mistaken identity; two early Barnabases had become confused in his mind.

The Epistle itself also demands this early date. It was certainly written not long after the destruction of the temple, A. D. 70. (e. xvi.) It is even claimed by some (but on grounds which do not seem conclusive) that a passage in e. iv. should be so interpreted as to show it was written before A. D. 79. In our judgment, everything points to a date in the second century, indeed, but only just in it: and taking into account its strong anti-Judaic tendency, we would assign it to 106, when, according to Hegesippus and Hippolytus, Judaizing heresies, which had hitherto worked underground in the Jewish Church, sprung up into a rank and open growth. These would soon communicate themselves to Alexandria; and to oppose them the Epistle was written. There is absolutely no ground for the assertion that the author refers to the rebuilding of the temple by Hadrian, and therefore no reason resting on this to assign the letter to so late a date as 120-125. The choice is between 79, 98, and the early years of the second century. The establishment of the connection between the

Epistle and St. John's Gospel, by Keim, favors the last date. On the whole, we shall not err much if we assume the date already indicated, A. D. 106.

The letter itself is an argument against Judaizing, addressed seemingly to no particular community. The two points chiefly insisted on are, (1) that Judaism in its outward form had never been commanded by God, but was a misunderstanding by the Jews of words meant spiritually, and (2) that the Jews never possessed God's covenant. The intellectual character of the letter, although the author boasts proudly of his gnosis, is not high; its noble Christian morality, on the other hand, shines even more brightly from the contrast. No heathen of the day had reached to such heights. With the exception of its teaching as to the divinity of the rites of the Old Testament and the relation of Christianity to them, its doctrinal system is pure and orthodox. On the whole, in spite of its allegorizing, and although the work of an uncultured man, the epistle does honor to the popular Christianity of the day.

SECTION XVII.

We come next to the Epistles of Ignatius: and here we are met by, perhaps, the most troublesome question of early Church History. These letters come to us in three forms: one in Greek and Latin, consisting of fifteen letters,—a shorter one in Greek, consisting of seven letters,—and a still shorter one in Syriac, consisting of three letters;—all, however, having the same nucleus. Which of the three forms (if any) is genuine? This subject can not here be discussed with any thoroughness. Perhaps, however, the following hints may block out the truth. At the start we may dismiss what is known as the longest form as confessedly not genuine; and the question narrows itself to a consideration of the rival claims of the shorter Greek seven letters, and the still briefer Syriac three.

First, then, it is evident that one or the other of these is genuine. Polycarp, who wrote so soon after Ignatius that he had not yet heard of his martyrdom, although Ignatius wrote his Epistles on his way to his death, testifies that he wrote several,—among them one to himself. Irenaeus, a pupil of Polycarp, quotes a characteristic passage from another, and Origen, early in the third century, cites two, and assigns them to Ignatius by name. Eusebius moreover fully authenticates them.

Up to Eusebius all the notices may be satisfied by either form, but he evidently had the seven Greek epistles before him. The external evidence, then, comes directly from the time of their composition, and forces us to accept one form or the other as the genuine work of Ignatius. Nor is there any rebutting internal evidence; what has been thought such has been shown to have quite the opposite bearing. The incidents are all credible; Ignatius' description of his condition as a prisoner is borne out as probable from other almost contemporary cases; supposed anachronisms have failed, when subjected to close scrutiny. The high clerical opinions, which otherwise would seem to discredit the early date of the letters, receive their explanation from the intense force of the man's personality, and should be looked at probably as largely his individual opinions. When we come to decide, however, which of these forms is the genuine one, perhaps no absolutely certain result can be reached. It seems very highly probable, however, that we ought to accept the seven Greek epistles, and for the following reasons: 1. While we have absolutely no trace of the shorter recension in Greek, Eusebius certainly had the seven longer Epistles before him, and we cannot assign a period previous to him, when the *three* could well have been enlarged to the *seven*, and then get entirely lost from the Greek-speaking world. 2. The seven were certainly written before the middle of the second century, a fact which we know both from their complete silence in regard to the heresies prevalent after that time (while they earnestly oppose those which flourished before it), and the presence in them of expressions which such a man as Ignatius could not have used in the face of these heresies. 3. We possess an Armenian version of the seven, which, moreover, was not made from the Greek, but from a Syriac version, fragments of which we also possess. Now, on comparison, we see that this Syriac version and the three short Syriac letters are not independent;—either the former was made by interpolating the latter, or the latter are excerpts from the former. 4. The abruptness and the harsh transitions of the Syriac three favor the idea that they are excerpts. The seven are therefore older than the three. 5. The Greek seven contain no internal marks of later date, unless we count the high clerical opinions expressed in them, such; and these are common to them and the Syriac. In other

words, the Greek seven internally harmonize with their ascription to Ignatius.

For these reasons, it is probable that we should pronounce the seven Greek epistles genuine, and hold the Syriac to be excerpts from them. In our argument, we shall so treat them; but shall note with reference to the more important passages whether they are also contained in the Syriac excerpts. These passages will be valid evidence on any Ignatian hypothesis. As to the date of whichever form is genuine, it seems certain that Ignatius was martyred either in 107 or 116, and that these letters date, therefore, from 106 or 115,—probably the latter. The Ignatian epistles are chiefly remarkable for the intense individuality of the writer, the great force of his personal convictions, and the highness of his churchly opinions. They breathe a high spirit of Christian morality and orthodox theology, and are certainly not unworthy monuments of early Christian thought and expression.

SECTION XVIII.

From Polycarp we have one undoubtedly genuine letter addressed to the Philippians, and written to them at their own request. The genuineness of the letter has indeed been questioned by those whose preconceived theories necessitated its rejection, but on utterly insufficient grounds. No classical work comes to us better authenticated. His own pupil, Irenæus, witnesses to it: writing (Haer. iii, 3,) "There is also a letter of Polycarp's written to the Philippians, most satisfactory, from which also those that are willing and have a care about their salvation can learn the character of his faith, and the proclamation of the truth." Later witnesses need not be given; few authors can expect to have their works authenticated by personal pupils. The internal characteristics of the Epistle harmonize with this external testimony, and we are justified in assuming as certainly true the ascription of this letter to Polycarp. Nor is the letter interpolated. The attempts to prove interpolations have utterly failed. We may, then, use every part of it with confidence. As to its date, it professes to have been written after Ignatius' departure for Rome, but before news of his death had arrived at Smyrna:—therefore about 116 A. D. Nothing in this letter forbids this date, which the notice of Ignatius necessitates. We may assume it, then,

with confidence. As to the character of the letter, we may accept Dr. Donaldson's estimate that, though not possessing much literary merit, it has much in it that is really noble, and is pervaded with a true Christian spirit. "It is remarkably simple and earnest," and ranks with Clement's letter, at the head of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. What renders its full testimony to the canon of such value, is not so much its early date as the fact that Polycarp was the immediate disciple of St. John. Born in 69 or 70, and martyred at the advanced age of 86, in 155 (as M. Waddington has shown), he lapped with John's life some thirty years. Irenaeus, Polycarp's pupil, testifies fully to the loving tenderness with which he dwelt on the teaching of his master, the beloved Apostle. We have thus, through Polycarp, the direct teaching of St. John.

SECTION XIX.

We next ask, what witness do these writings bear to the Canon of the New Testament? Notice at the start that they constitute a true link with the apostolic age. One of them was written before the death of John. The authors of all of them might have seen and heard the Apostles. One we know positively to have been the immediate pupil of St. John; and another, in all probability, was a companion of St. Paul. The four together bear witness from the immediately succeeding score of years to John's death. What they witness to is therefore the position in regard to the canon of the church as it came immediately from the Apostles' hands.

SECTION XX.

And the result of their testimony is to show that the Church already had our Testament. In the ten short letters in which all references to our Scriptures are merely incidental, we have clear indications of the possession by their writers of all the books we hold to now, except Jude and 3d John, to which are probably to be added Titus, the brief and personal Philemon, 2d John and Revelation, to which there are allusions, but of a more doubtful character. The following is a brief summary of this evidence.

SECTION XXI.

I. These letters presuppose the existence of the Canonical Scriptures:—they are just of such a character, and treat of

just such subjects, as would be given rise to by these Scriptures. In language, too, they show traces of their use.

A. These letters, in the form of their doctrinal statements, point to our Canonical writings as the sources of their doctrine. Thus Clement of Rome had dwelt with such loving interest on the Epistle to the Hebrews that the whole Epistle had become transfused into his mind, and he could no longer write, save under its forms of statements, and in the use of its peculiar words. His Epistle, though treating of different subjects, becomes an unmistakable echo of that model. No one can read the two without seeing their connection. No less do the doctrinal statements of Clement presuppose the Epistles of Paul and James. To give but a single example, Clement writes, (c. xxxii.) "we are not justified by ourselves, * * * nor by works which we have wrought in holiness of heart, but by our faith, by which Almighty God justified all from the beginning of the world;" and then shortly afterwards adds, as much in the spirit of James as that was in the spirit of Paul: "Let us work from our whole heart the work of righteousness." (c. xxxiii.) The Catholicity of Clement's doctrinal position, combining such diverse elements, points to his possession of the various scriptures which teach them. Thus again, the epistles of *Ignatius* whether we accept the Syriac or the Greek, presuppose the pastoral epistles of St. Paul. The development of the church order mirrored in the one, absolutely necessitates the inspired order of the other as a base. Through the caricature shine the lineaments of the true face. And when "such a connection is traced by the help of such an undesigned commentary, in writings fragmentary, occasional and inartificial, it surely follows" that the books exhibiting it and accounting for it, do really lie in this relation of source and development to one another. (Westcott.) In the same way we find that we must assume at the base of Polycarp's epistle the first epistle of Peter, St. Paul's Pastorals, and John. The resemblance to 1 Peter, is indeed remarkable; though an almost equal likeness exists to the Pastorals. Barnabas again, as has been shown by Keim, presupposes in his doctrinal statements the Gospel of John—even expressing these similar dogmas in words characteristic of St. John. It seems also that the epistle to the Hebrews is needed to account for the tone—exaggerated from it—of Barnabas to the Jews and the nature of his arguments against Judaisers.

On the whole it is difficult to see how the general character of the doctrinal statements of the Apostolical Fathers can be at all accounted for, save on the hypothesis that they possessed the varied books now constituting our New Testament and attributed to them absolute authority in the statement of doctrine. The broad and liberal, but at the same time orthodox and evangelical catholicity, for example of Clement and Polycarp, absolutely compels us to assume that they had Peter and James and John and Paul in their hands and had been forced to combine their statements. In one passage Polycarp actually combines the watchwords of Peter, John and Paul: naturally speaking of Christians as "built up into the *faith* given to them * * * *hope* following after, *love* preceding."

B. The *words* which they use to express these doctrines can also be traced back to their sources in our Canonical Scriptures. Thus we find in reading Clement that he uses these two words: *agathopoia* and *adelphotes*. Now these words occur in no other writer of his age, and in all the New Testament, only in the first epistle of Peter. It looks very much then as if Clement got them into his vocabulary by reading St. Peter. In the same way he uses several words found in the New Testament only in St. Peter and St. Paul. When a peculiar and unusual vocabulary exists in two writers it seems impossible to regard them as independent. And thus it is hard to escape the conclusion that Clement drew his vocabulary in part from Sts. Paul and Peter.

And the same argument may be applied in the case of each of the other three of the Apostolic Fathers. Thus Ignatius has a long list of unusual words common to him and St. Paul. He also uses language which is inexplicable save on the supposition that he had read and learned a vocabulary from the writings of St. John. Polycarp takes so preponderatingly whole phrases from the various books of the New Testament, that it is difficult to find out what *vocabulary* he has won from them. He expresses himself in the very words of Holy Writ to such an extent that instead of single words we find whole passages assumed from it in his writings. Yet he seems also in his vocabulary to depend on Paul and Peter. Barnabas in the same way exhibits dependence on Paul and has adopted several characteristic Johannean phrases. It needs to be remembered that this argument is concerned with the *peculiar* words only,—those which

point back to their sources with almost convincing power. If we noted all the coincidences of the Apostolic Fathers with the New Testament language, we would almost frame a concordance to them. The coincidence in *peculiar* phraseology lies at the base of our present argument, and the mass of peculiar words common to the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers is enough to necessitate the assumption of a direct connection between them. The *general* similarity of language of the two sets of writers is a distinct argument and yet leads to the same conclusion. The two taken together show that the two sets of writings cannot be independent.

SECTION XXII.

II. We are not left, however, to these minute details for proof that this age knew the writings of the Apostles. We are not without direct and explicit references to New Testament books in the writings we are now considering. In three instances out of the four where it would have been natural to refer directly to New Testament books we have the reference. And the subject under discussion in the fourth explains the failure there. When Clement wrote to the Corinthians, when Ignatius wrote to the Ephesians, when Polycarp wrote to the Philippians—to each of which places Paul had written before them—they do not fail to appeal to Paul's letters:—"Take up the epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle," writes Clement to the Corinthians. "What did he write to you in the beginning of the Gospel? Truly he spiritually wrote to you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos because even then parties had been formed among you." In the same spirit Ignatius writes to the Ephesians, (this passage is not found in the Syriac,) "Ye are initiated into mysteries with Paul, the holy, the martyred, the deservedly blessed, (at whose feet may I be found when I shall attain to God,) who in his whole epistle makes mention of you in Christ Jesus." Polycarp again, when speaking to the Phillipians of Paul, declares to them:—"When among you he accurately and steadfastly taught the word of truth to those who were then alive, and when absent from you he wrote you a letter, into which if ye diligently look, you will be able to be built up in the faith given to you, which is the mother of us all, hope following after, love to God and Christ and to our neighbor preceding."—To these

three books, therefore, we could not have fuller testimony.—Notice, too, that two of them are among the books whose genuineness is disputed by the Tuebingen school, but which are witnessed to here, certainly as early as 116, as having been written by Paul to the churches named in their titles.

SECTION XXIII.

III. To the rest of the books of the New Testament (excepting those named in Section XX,) we have equally valid testimony, though in a different form,—namely in the form of incidental quotations of their words. Whatever books an author quotes, he witnesses to as existing before his time. In considering these quotations we must bear in mind the principles already laid down and established in Sections VIII—XII. As to the amount of New Testament quotation traceable in the Apostolic Fathers it will be no exaggeration to say that as a general thing their writings are saturated with the language of the New Testament. Polycarp has the most; Ignatius perhaps the least. Short as Polycarp's letter is it yet contains no less than between thirty and forty references to the New Testament. Nay, notwithstanding the briefness of both writings, at least *ten* clear references to 1st Peter may be counted in it. And yet with the exception of one brief coincidence of four words with the Apocryphal book of Tobit, this same epistle contains no quotation taken *immediately* from the Old Testament. The other writers, however, generally quote the Old Testament most frequently,—except Ignatius, who quotes very little at all. The following list will show what books of the New Testament are thus authenticated by plain quotations and what writers thus quote them.

Commencing with the Epistles of Paul, we find that—

Romans is clearly quoted by Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, and perhaps Barnabas.

Corinthians: 1 Cor. by Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Barnabas; 2 Cor. by Polycarp, and perhaps Clement and Barnabas.

Galatians : by Polycarp, and perhaps Clement and Ignatius.

Ephesians : by Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and (Barnabas?)

Philippians : by Ignatius, probably; by Polycarp, certainly; and Clement, probably.

Colossians: by Polycarp; also, probably by Clement, Barnabas and Ignatius.

Thessalonians: 1 Thes. by Polycarp and Ignatius; 2 Thes. by Polycarp.

Timothy: 1 Tim. by Polycarp, and probably also by Clement and Barnabas; 2 Tim. by Polycarp, and probably by Barnabas and (Ignatius?).

Titus: possibly by Clement.

Philemon: possibly by Ignatius.

By Polycarp alone eleven out of thirteen epistles of Paul are quoted, and the “most decisive references are frequently to those epistles which are now disputed. For instance, it cannot reasonably be doubted that Polycarp was acquainted with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and with the two Epistles to Timothy.”—(Lightfoot.)

To the Epistle to the

Hebrews: Clement witnesses so strongly that he alone would authenticate it—quoting often and largely from it; probably, also, Polycarp.

Taking next the Catholic Epistles, we find that *James* is quoted clearly by Clement.

1 Peter: by Polycarp and Clement.

2 Peter: possibly by Polycarp; probably by Clement; and certainly by Barnabas.

1st John: Certainly by Polycarp and Ignatius.

2d John: Possibly by Polycarp.

Acts is quoted certainly by Polycarp.

SECTION XXIV.

The Gospels are also quoted in such a way as to authorize us to assert that it is certain that the Apostolical Fathers possessed them. And first, the Synoptics:—Clement writes in his xv chapter: “The Scripture says somewhere, ‘This people honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.’” Here we have a direct quotation from Mark vii.6. Mark quotes the passage from Isaiah, xxix:13, but quotes it in a peculiar form differing from the Hebrew, and wholly from the LXX. Now, Clement follows Mark’s peculiar form, and so actually quotes the Old Testament through Mark’s translation.

Again in chap. xlvi, Clement has a passage which is taken from Matt. xxvi:24 and xviii:6; but with this peculiarity: that

it is so quoted as to show that Clement had the parallel in Luke in his mind at the same time, and in quoting blended the two. This blending process, arising from quotation from memory of passages expressed in two evangelists, is still more apparent in a passage in Clement, chap. xiii, which he quotes from Matt. v:7, vi:14, vii:12,2; but in doing so is led off from Matthew's text occasionally, by reminiscences of the parallel in Luke. The phenomena exhibited are exactly those which we would expect to arise if one should (first) quote from memory, and (second) have his mind distracted by a double original. Thus Matthew gives its form to the quotation, and yet Luke's account is exercising a disturbing influence everywhere. One whole clause is inserted from Luke, and yet Matthew is returned to at the end, so that the last clause is almost a verbal quotation from him. From this, and its like passages noted above, we learn, not only that Clement had Matthew and Luke, but that he had read them long enough for their parallel passages to be welding themselves together in his mind. For instance, in the passage already mentioned in chapter xlvi, there occurs a very close parallel with Matthew. And yet in the subsequent part of the quotation (from Matt. xviii:6), Matthew is deserted in one place for the shorter form of Mark's and Luke's parallel. We may say with certainty, therefore, that Clement had our three Synoptics together.

Turning to Barnabas, we can say with certainty, that he possessed our Matthew, quoting from it, as he does more than once. One characteristic passage, Matt., xxii:14, he quotes exactly, calling it Scripture in the use of the formula, "*hos ge-graptai*." The attempt which has been made to derive this quotation from the saying in 4 Ezra, viii:3: "Many were created, but few saved," is simply ridiculous. It can be only stated as an example of what wild conjectures can be made. In addition to this passage, Matthew, ix:13, is quoted verbally in Barnabas, c. v, and three other clear references to the same Gospel may be counted in this Epistle.

Ignatius also knew this Gospel. In the second chapter of his Epistle to Polycarp we have a clear reference to it, and a reference too, which is preserved in the Syriac. A reference to the "Star" of Matt. ii. is also found in the Syriac. In the Greek Epistles (not in the Syriac) occur four other references to Matthew, some of them marked, and one probable one to Luke.

Equally clear indications are found in Polycarp. For instance, Matt. xxvi:41, last clause, is quoted by him verbally with a free quotation of the first clause. And we can count at least three other decided allusions to the same Gospel, besides a striking one in c. ii. of the same passage that was quoted by Clement, c. xiii., and affected as it was there by Luke's parallel. It is clear, therefore, that the Apostolical Fathers possessed all three of the Synoptics, and have quoted clearly from all three. We moreover find that they had already begun to affect each other in the parallel passages; and, therefore, that they existed together in the hands of these writers, or else before they came into their hands.

In reference to the peculiar form of the long quotations from Polycarp II. and Clement XIII. it will be sufficient to remark that the same phenomena of transposition, alteration in memory, and welding of various passages together, occur in quotations confessedly taken from the Old Testament—not in Polycarp, indeed, for he has no quotations directly from the Old Testament, but in Clement and Barnabas. It would not be difficult to parallel from their citations of the old Scriptures all the peculiarities found in the above-given quotations from the Gospels. There is left to us no excuse, therefore, for seeking the source of them elsewhere than in our Gospels; certainly no excuse for inventing hypothetical books, which never existed outside of our imagination, to which to refer these passages. When Clement could weld into one passage Deut. i. 3, 9, 5, 3; and again in one passage, Ez. xxxiii:11, xviii:30, Ps. ciii:10-11, Jer. iii:19-22, Is. i:18; and again in one passage Num. xviii:27, 2 Chron. xxxi:14, and Ez. xlvi:12. we surely cannot be surprised to find Matt. v:7, vi:14, vii:12; Luke, vi:38, vi:37; Matt. vii:2, which all lie together as parts of the same discourse, welded together in the same peculiar way; and quoted from memory (as so many Old Testament passages are), with natural memoriter variations. When the passages from Clement and Polycarp are placed side by side with their parallels from the Gospels, and the loose habit of these writers in quotation remembered, all attempt to throw doubt on these passages as quotations falls to the ground. They stand as indubitable proof that these writers had our Synoptic Gospels, and had them *together*.

SECTION XXV.

And now we must ask what evidence from quotations have we that these same writers had our Gospel of John. To take them up one by one we may say : First, that Polycarp has no direct quotation from St. John's Gospel, which indeed, considering the brevity and general character of his letter, is not surprising. But he has a clear reference to John's 1st Epistle ; and this implies the Gospel. Whoever wrote one wrote both ; nay, wrote both at the same time, and sent them forth together. To witness to one implies therefore a witness to both. Barnabas again has no direct quotations from St. John ; and his evidence rests on his use of John's vocabulary and his reiteration of John's theology, to which attention has been already called. Clement does not seem to quote John, although there are some very noticeable coincidences of language with 1st John. For direct quotations of John's Gospel we are thrown back thus on *Ignatius* ; and he supplies them to us. Thus in Rom. vii. we have a clear reference to John vi ; and as the passage also occurs in the Syriac, it is a valid witness on any tenable Ignatian hypothesis. It runs : "I wish bread of God which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, who came of the seed of David ; and I wish to drink his blood, who is immortal love." This passage alone is sufficient to substantiate the use of John by Ignatius, yet others are not lacking. In the seventh chapter of the Epistle to Phil., he writes : "The spirit, being from God, is not to be deceived, for he knoweth whence he cometh and whither he goeth." In John iii:8, we read : "The wind bloweth whither it wisheth and thou hearest the sound of it ; but thou dost not know whence it cometh or whither it goeth. So is every one who is born of the Spirit." Man does not know, says John: therein the spirit differs from man, says Ignatius, and quotes John iii:8 *verbatim*. Again, Ignatius has a clear reference to 1 John iii:9-13, &c., which again, as in the case of Polycarp, implies the Gospel. He also uses several phrases and words which he could not have obtained elsewhere than from John, such as "Logos aidios," &c. Ignatius' witness to John is thus clear and precise ; and, being found in the Syriac as well as the Greek, is certainly valid. We must add John, therefore, to the Synoptics, as a gospel known to the Apostolic Fathers.

SECTION XXVI.

Of the New Testament books, Rev. only remains, but for it we have no clear reference in the four writers which we are now considering. The passages cited from Polycarp are very doubtful indeed; they may *possibly* allude to Rev., but that is all.

SECTION XXVII.

As the result of this inquiry, it can be broadly stated that we have valid evidence of varied kinds that these four early writers possessed our four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, all of Paul's Epistles, (except perhaps Titus and Philemon), the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 John, 1 Peter, 2 Peter and James. As to the possession of these there cannot be a reasonable doubt. The next question that arises is, in what estimation did they hold these books? They had the bulk of the New Testament, (besides a part of the Antilegomena, i.e. Jude, 2 and 3 John, and Rev.—witness failing only to two short Epistles—the two *shortest* of Paul's.) Did they esteem it Scripture or not? On this subject the following points are to be noted:

SECTION XXVIII.

1. No one can fail to see, on even the most cursory reading of them, the respect with which they treat the New Testament writers. No difference can be detected in their dealing with the New and the Old Testament. If Clement weaves the Old Testament throughout his letters as the authoratative expression of truth, Polycarp does no less with the New. Whatever authority they may have ascribed to it, they certainly went to the New Testament for the *best* expression of their faith and doctrines:—they certainly appealed to it as if they held its form authoritative.

2. These writers do not fail to recognize the difference between the Apostles and themselves; and in recognizing this, they proclaim the authority of the Apostles. They were writing as simple Christian men; the Apostles are recognized to have been endowed with a different and higher authority. Bishop Ignatius, filled with the pride of his position, can yet see that his episcopal authority is infinitely lower than that with which the Apostles spoke. The language they use in

comparing themselves with the Apostles, witnesses that the estimation in which they held their books was owing to their character as the Word of God. They did not assume to be equal to the Apostles, or to write like them. "These things, brethren," says Polycarp to the Phil., "I write to you concerning righteousness, not because I take anything on myself, but because you have invited me to do so. For neither I, nor any one like me is able to attain to the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul." In his letter, "if you will diligently look into it, you will find the means of building yourselves up in the faith which has been given to you." Ignatius, again, can wish only to be found at the feet of Paul, and writes to the Romans (also found in the Syriac), "Not as Peter and Paul do I command you; they were Apostles: I, one condemned; they were freemen: I, even until now, a slave." And again when writing to the Trallians as to the honor in which they should hold the Bishops, he yet breaks off with the disclaimer: "But shall I, when permitted to write on this point, reach such a height of self-esteem that, though being a condemned man, I should issue orders to you as though I was an Apostle?" Even the nearest approach to a prelatist, which these days furnish, knew the difference between himself and the Apostles. In the same spirit Clement wishes only to remind the Corinthians as being himself in the same arena with them and engaged in the same conflict; while he represents "the blessed Apostle Paul" to have given them spiritual injunctions. And Barnabas wishes his hearers to distinctly understand that he writes to them "not as a teacher, but as one of themselves,"—a statement which he anxiously repeats in the fourth chapter, as if afraid it would not be understood. To what now are we to attribute this anxiety not to claim an Apostle's authority? Did they or did they not receive the Apostolic writings as authoritative?

3. These writers actually quote the New Testament as Scripture, using the formula "as it is written," which, on all sides, is recognized as proclaiming the writing sacred writ. We have already seen that Barnabas quotes a passage from Matthew with that formula. For many years this passage existed only in a Latin translation, and the skeptical resort was to say it had been inserted by the Latin translator. But on the discovery of the Sinaitic manuscript, it was obtained in an old and good

Greek form, and the skeptics immediately bent all their skill to show either that the question was taken from 4th Ezra, the rediculousness of which we have already seen; or else that Barnabas' epistle has been assigned to too early a date, which has been equally unsuccessful. They admit that the book so quoted was held by the author of the epistle as divine. The epistle was certainly written, as we have seen, in the early years of the second century; the quotation, as we have also seen, is certainly from Matthew; therefore it is indubitably true that Barnabas held Matthew to be divine. This is now admitted. A similar case occurs in Polycarp XII., where occurs this passage:—"As it is said in these Scriptures: 'Be ye angry and sin not,' and, 'Let not the sun go down upon your wrath.'" Unfortunately the Greek is lost here; but with the example of Barnabas before us we are justified in holding to this as Polycarp's until the Greek is discovered. Another testimony which it is valid to quote here, and which itself ought to make us see that any recognition of the New Testament by the fathers as scripture, ought not to surprise us is this: In 1st Tim. v: 15, St. Luke is quoted verbatim, together with Deut., as "Scripture." Now, even waiving the point of the Pauline origin of Timothy, it certainly is older than any Apostolic Father, since not only Polycarp but also Clement and Barnabas quote it. Even before the Apostolic Fathers, therefore, was Luke recognized as on a level with the Old Testament, and as well as it, "Scripture." It is certainly valid argumentation to take this along with the writings which witness to its greater age than themselves, as a testimony to the estimation of the New Testament as scripture in the first age of the church. Taking these three instances together we have Matt. and Luke and Eph. expressly witnessed to as Scripture; and the honor ascribed to them necessarily spreads itself over the whole collection in the hands of these writers. The three points made seem to necessitate the conclusion that the Apostolic Fathers looked on the books of the New Testament, which they possessed, as authoritative and divine.

SECTION XXIX.

The only question then left to consider is:—How far had the books they possessed assumed the form of a definite collection or Canon of Scripture? And here note the following remarks:

1. It is a *priori* probable that since they had books which they esteemed as authoritative and divine, these books would tend to be put together into a volume of authoritative and divine books. The antecedent presumption is, therefore, that as fast as the books were known, they would form themselves into a collection. As long as new books claiming to be divine were frequently coming to hand, the collection would not be "*definite*" in the sense that it was closed, and that the "*just so many and no more*" would be the rule insisted on; but from the beginning the collection would be "*definite*," in the sense that it was bounded off from all other known books, as a collection of divine books. In this sense, then, the antecedent probability is that Clement and his compeers possessed a "*definite*" canon; a definite collection of divine books consisting of all the divine books they knew—open to increase whenever a new book came to them and authenticated itself as divine, but not open to decrease as the books composing it had been fully authenticated to them.

2. As it is difficult to see how any one could possess say three books believed by him to be divine, without looking at them as a collection of divine books giving the rule of faith, so we cannot be surprised to find (as we have already seen) that the three synoptical gospels were held by these writers in a "*collected*" form. It is difficult not to take the further step of holding that all of the rest of the "*Divine*" books were added to them so as to make a further collection.

3. We cannot be surprised therefore that Ignatius actually witnesses to his possession of such a collection. He asks for the prayers of the Philadelphians, that he may be made perfect; that he may attain to that portion which has been allotted to him: by "*fleeing to the Gospel* as to the flesh of Christ; and to the *Apostles* as to the presbytery of the church; but also let us love the Prophets because that they have preached in reference to the gospel and placed their hope in Him * * * in whom believing they were saved." As Dr. Westcott truly says, this implies a collection of Christian books, Gospels and

Apostles; (notice, the same nomenclature by which Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian [see §§ 3 and 4,] designated their collection and which in their case is admitted to mean the collected scriptures) and on any other supposition this juxtaposition of Prophets, Apostles and Gospel would be very harsh. Since we know that this phrase "Gospels and Apostles" was the current phrase in the early church for the New Testament, we cannot look upon their mention here in this way, and in connection with the Old Testament books (The Prophets) as anything less than a witness by Ignatius to an already collected canon. Other references in Ignatius seem to point to the same conclusions. Thus in c. vii. of the Epistle to the Smyrneans, after condemning those who abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, he says: "It behooves therefore that ye should keep aloof from such and not speak of them either in private or public, but give heed to the *Prophets* and above all to the *Gospel* in which the passion has been revealed to us." Here the juxtaposition of "*prophets*" and "*gospel*" seems to imply the Old and New Testaments kept together and held in equal honor; and seems to refer to the New Testament as a definite collection. Again in the viii. ch. of the Epistle to the Philadelphians, Ignatius plainly contrasts the Old with the New Testament. "When I heard some saying," he writes, "If I do not find it in the *ancient* writings I will not believe the Gospel;" on my saying to them 'It is written,' they answered me, 'That remains to be proved!' But to me Christ Jesus is in the place of that which is ancient," etc. Here there seems to be a dispute with Judaizers;—Ignatius appeals to the New Testament as "scripture" and they refuse to recognize the claim. He then cuts short the exegetical discussion and appeals to living tradition. Here then seems to be another reference to a collected New Testament, used by the Church in connection with the Old. The three passages together seem to shew the possession of such a collection almost beyond preadventure; the argument is cumulative: the inference which one would barely support the three readily give firm ground for:—we may cite the first passage and quote the others in support.

We are justified, therefore, in claiming that not only did these writers possess these writings, but that they esteemed them divine and possessed them as a collection of divine Scriptures, on a level with and in connection with the inspired Scriptures of the Old Testament.

SECTION XXX.

And here let us pause for one moment and seek to feel the meaning and value of this testimony. We have the testimony here of the immediately succeeding age to the Apostles: these witnesses link on to the Apostles. With the small exception noted in §20, they authenticate our whole New Testament as having been written before their time, and as being authoritative. If written before the time of the immediate followers of and pupils of the Apostles, and if held by them to be divine, being called, too, "the Gospel and Apostles," who could have written them but the Apostles? Therefore, we find three of the books directly attributed to Paul by name; and, without doubt, had occasion arisen, we would have found all attributed in like manner to their authors as named in their titles. Now, had we not a word of subsequent testimony, this would authenticate these books. Notice, again, that there is no sectional testimony, but the witness of the whole church. The Epistle of Barnabas was written from Alexandria, Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, Polycarp wrote from Smyrna, and Clement from Rome. The four great churches of antiquity, therefore,—those of Alexandria, Antioch, Asia Minor and Rome,—are here providing witnesses for us; so that we can declare that we have the witness of the Universal Church. The Church of Jerusalem, alone of the great churches, is lacking, and we will find that we have a witness from her, too, covering the same ground and from the same period.

Now, notice again, that the period, though so early, yet in its representatives laps, over the succeeding one, to the fourth quarter of the century, wherein we have found the testimony to the Canon so abundant. The long life of Polycarp, after synchronizing some thirty years with St. John's, stretches on to teach John's truth to Irenæus;—and thus the pure tradition of the Apostles though only a single link reaches the fourth quarter of the century. Having such full testimony from the last twenty-five and from the first twenty years of the century, and having this link of Polycarp's teaching connecting them, we might well neglect all intermediate evidence. Without it, the Canon would stand on firm ground. We do not purpose to neglect it; but we wish to have the fact distinctly understood, in order that the true *cumulative* nature of our proof may be thoroughly seen. Our canon has already been twice

settled:—by the testimony of the age of Irenæus and now by the testimony of the age of Polycarp. However doubtful any subsequent results may be, the position of the Canon is untouched. We shall not find doubtful results, however,—but new proof. That proof only over and over again authenticates what is already sure. Lacking all other witnesses the Canon is settled; we appeal to further witnesses only to show what a mass of evidence we have, and to bring out the cumulative nature of the proof.

Though not usually called works of the Apostolic Fathers, we have two more books belonging to this same age, and we must appeal briefly to them next.

SECTION XXXI.

The first of these is the anonymous EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS. This was long attributed to Justin Martyr; but is now universally allowed not to be his. As it comes down to us, it consists of two parts by different authors, and of different, though not widely, different ages. The first and older part, alone, concerns us now. We can not discover its authorship; we can be sure only that while the second and later part breathes the spirit of Alexandria, this breathes rather the spirit of Greece. It comes to us thus as a relic of the Christian literature of Greece, and therefore represents the pure Greek churches of this period. There have been various opinions as to its date, but all the indications seem to point to about the end of Trajan's reign, say 117. Thus the remark about the enmity of the Jews points to the times before Bar-Cocheba, or 135. But a much surer indication of early date is the evidence in it that a lively faith in Christ's speedy Parousia still lingered in the church when it was written “which would forbid our bringing it down beyond Trajan's reign;”—while, again, the fact that Christians had already, when it was written, suffered a widespread persecution, forbids a much earlier time. We may, with much confidence, accept Dr. Westcott's opinion, that it was written about 117. It is addressed to *Diognetus*, probably the Stoic tutor of Marcus Aurelius—which again accords with this date; as does also the fact that Christians are spoken of as a new class. In character it is as much an oration as a letter; it is, indeed, an *apology*, and, as such, classes better with the succeeding period than with this, while its date, on the

other hand, and its epistolary form, would class it with the Apostolical Fathers. It is among the most beautiful of all the early remains of Christianity; its Greek is purer than it is usual to find among early Christian writings, and in eloquence and beauty it is worthy of its Greek origin. What, now, is the testimony of this writer to our Canon? In all respects like that of the Apostolical Fathers. We find the most copious testimony to Paul and John. It is not too much to say (with Dr. Westcott) that whole sections are constructed with manifest regard to passages in the Epistles to the Rom. Cor. Gal. Many Pauline words and phrases are used, and we have clear allusions to Eph., Phil., 1 Tim. and Titus;—wherein Titus is added as a new book, not clearly witnessed to in the four writers already examined. There are also clear references to 1 Pet., Acts and Matt., and most probably to 1 John. John's Gospel is abundantly supported;—the clearest reference being to Jno iii, 16; sq. in chap. x.

When an author, in ten small duodecimo pages, writing to a Heathen and making no direct quotations, yet naturally, and, as it were, unconsciously, weaves so many clear and unmistakeable allusions to Christian writers into his discourse,—in what honor must he hold these writers!—with what loving study must he have dwelt upon them!—how they must have *grown* into his mind as part of his very thought! It is such phenomena as these; wholly incidental—in many cases almost, if not quite, unconscious—references, which makes it impossible for us to doubt the high esteem in which these early writers held the Scriptures of our New Testament.

SECTION XXXII.

The other book which we have mentioned as belonging to this period is the remarkable Pseud-epigraph which goes under the name of “*The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*,” and which of itself would give its death-blow to the Tuebingen assumption that the Jewish element of the early Church cherished an inextinguishable hate for Paul and his Gentile Churches. This book is a Jewish-Christian writing, the work of a Nazarene (not Ebionite) author, coming to us from the very earliest times; and therefore it is a valuable witness for the canon—springing as it does from just that one great center of early Christianity from which we have hitherto had no witness.

The author witnesses clearly to his Judaistic tendencies, so there can be no doubt of the source of the book. And yet the witness of the writing to our canon is strongest for precisely the Antijudaic writings of Paul, Luke, and John. Side by side with the highest Judaic feeling the book rejoices over the admission of the Gentiles to the covenant. It was probably written from Pella, whither the Christians of Jerusalem had withdrawn before the destruction of Jerusalem, and where the Nazarene section of them remained long afterwards; and at some time before 120. The broadest outlines of its date are furnished by these two facts: (1.) It quotes the book of Enoch and (2) It is quoted by name, by Origen, and without being named by Tertullian. More narrow limits are, however, attainable. It was certainly written after the destruction of Jerusalem, and just as certainly before the rise of Bar-Cocheba—that is between 70 and 135. As it quotes John's gospel it probably belongs in the second century. Other minute indications determine to the opinion that it was not written later than 120. The probable limits of date are, therefore, 100–120, and with this result the great majority of critics agree. The work is an attempt to witness to Christianity by putting into the mouths of the twelve sons of Jacob, prophecies as to the future. Direct allusion to the New Testament was thus necessarily excluded; and yet indirect allusions are found to the New Testament books sufficient to prove that the author had most of them. "The language in the moral and didactic portions takes its color from James, and in the prophetic and Apocalyptic from the Rev." (Lightfoot.) There are passages in the book which are certainly borrowed from Matt., Luke, John, Acts, Rom., 2 Cor., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 Thes., 1 Tim., Heb., 1 Peter, 1 John, and Rev., and such coincidences of language as convince us that the author had also 1 Cor., 2 Tim.(?) and James. There is also a possible allusion to Titus; and strong grounds arising from similarity of peculiar vocabulary and two fairly probable quotations that the author had also 2 Peter. Nor is the witness confined to separate books; clear testimony is given to the existence of a Canon of New Testament Scriptures. The writer puts these remarkable words into the mouth of the Patriarch Benjamin: "In the after times there shall arise from my seed one beloved of the Lord, listening to his voice and enlightening all the Gentiles with new knowledge,"

who shall be the bearer of salvation to the Gentiles ; " he shall be in the synagogues of the Gentiles till the completion of the ages, and among their rulers as a strain of music in the mouth of all. *And he shall be written in the Holy Books* (en biblois hagiais), *both his work and his word*, and he shall be the elect of God forever." Now there is no possibility of denial that this great Benjamite described here is St. Paul, and as a matter of fact no one has ever doubted it; nor can there be any doubt what a Jewish Christian writing for the benefit of Jews and putting his words in the mouth of a Jew meant by Hagiai Biblois. Again it cannot be seriously doubted, especially when he quotes both elsewhere in his writings,—that he means by Paul's work and word being written, to refer to the book of Acts and St. Paul's Epistles. Now, then, see the fullness of the testimony :—This book testifies that already at the opening of the second century the book of Acts and St. Paul's Epistles had been written in the " Holy Books." Remember it is one born a Jew, and still living within the Jewish rites (a Nazarene) who is writing, and we can feel the fullness of what he means by the " Holy Books." The testimony amounts to no less than that Acts and the Epistles of St. Paul were part of a Holy Collection of which the Old Testament also was a part; that the same Divine character and authority were attributed to them as to the Old Testament; in a word that the Old and New Testaments stood together as equally Divine and equally authoritative. We cannot for an instant suppose that the other New Testament books which are alluded to in the writing, stood on a lower level with this Judaic Christian than the Acts and St. Paul Epistles; nor can we with any show of reason seriously contend that the writer possessed no more of our New Testament books than in such a writing he alludes to. He probably had all that we find in the hands of other writers of the age; all that he had he almost certainly placed with Acts and the Epistles of Paul and the Old Testament in the " Holy Books." The value of the testimony of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs is then three-fold :—1. It gives us a witness from the Jewish Church. 2. It adds another book (Rev.) to the list of those referred to in the first twenty years of the second century ; and, 3, it gives us irrefragable proof of the collection of the New Testament books, and of their canonization even at this early time :—i. e., of the

fact that they were esteemed as equal to the Old Testament in inspiration and authority, and part of the "Canon" of Divine books of which the Old Testament was also a part.

SECTION XXXIIA.

In this same line of evidence, it is worth while to add here a testimony from the Talmud, dating from a generation which knew the Temple, which specifically witnesses to the fact that the Christian scriptures contained both Old and New Testaments. The Christian speaker is made so to speak of "The Book" as to evince the fact that it contained on equal terms and in equal authority the books of Numbers and Matthew and Galatians. (The passage can be found in Talmud, Babl, Shabbath 116 a, 116 b.)

SECTION XXXIII.

If we now combine the testimony of the Epistle to Diognetus and of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs with that of the Four Apostolical Fathers, we will be in a position to estimate the results of our examination of the first period. We have in these six writers found clear allusions to all of the books of our New Testament except Philemon, Jude, 2d and 3d John; and we have found more doubtful references to two of these (Philemon and 2d John.) To all the New Testament, except four small books which of themselves occupy some eleven small 16 mo. pages, we have found clear allusions; to all but two brief letters together filling scarcely two such pages, possible references. And this, merely incidentally, in such brief compass! And we have found more than this:—we have found plain proof that at the beginning of the second century there was already in the hands of Christians a collection of these books, called by them, in common with the Christians of later times, "The Gospel and the Apostles,"—containing certainly the mass of our present New Testament, and united with the Old Testament as constituting with it the Holy Books. The testimony of Ignatius and that of the Testaments of XII Patriarchs, illustrate, explain, and confirm each other. We will find confirmation also from the next period, but do not need it to enable us to draw this inference: already the mass of the Christian books were in the hands of the whole church,—the whole of the New Testament in fact, with the pos-

sible exception of some of the antilegomena ; and already in the form of a supplementary collection of divine books attached to the Old Testament books as with them constituting "The Holy Books"; but distinguished from them as being made up of the *new* while they consisted of the *old* books. In other words the "Canon" of the New Testament was already at the opening of the the second century, practically *formed*.

SECTION XXXIV.

If it be asked how this early formation of the Canon is to be accounted for, probably the following remarks will supply the answer:—1. There was no antecedent feeling against the possibility of a revelation to be overcome. The early Christians under the teaching of the Apostles had accepted the *Old Testament* as a revelation of God. 2. They were even *expecting* a new revelation. With the coming of the Messiah they would look for a second revelation from God. They were therefore prepared to accept an addition to the Rule of Faith. 3. Then, the books of the New Testament came to them claiming to be this new revelation; they claimed to be the word of God, e. g. Rev. 1: 10, 4; 22: 19. I. Tim. 4: 1. II. Thess. 3: 6, etc. This claim at once discriminated them from other writings. 4. Again the authority which these writings assumed (and which the Apostolical Fathers did not assume in their letters) at once made a well-marked class of them. 5. The Epistles came to the churches to which they were addressed with the charge that they should be read in the Churches. I. Thess. 5: 27. Col. 4: 16. Rev. 1: 3. This at once placed them in the same class with the Old Testament. 6. And sometimes it was charged that the churches should interchange their letters (Col. 4: 16.) This would tend to the circulation of these books. 7. Controversies with Heretics tended to the formation of a Canon; a Standard had to be formed in order to meet them. It probably, however, would be enough to say that the books came to the Christians as divinely inspired and authoritative books given to them as such by the Apostles; as such they naturally grew together as a collection of such books; and united themselves to the Old Testament as sharing that honor with them. At all events we have direct historic testimony that they were collected, esteemed as divine, and united with the Old Testament by the opening of the second century.

SECTION XXXV.

It may be proper to quote here, before proceeding to the next age, two testimonies drawn from a later date which serve, however, to confirm the conclusions to which we have come, for this age: that the scriptures had already been collected, and that they were esteemed as of equal authority with the divine writings of the Old Testament.

1. The first of them is the statement of Eusebius that the Evangelists of the time of Trajan, (98-117,) who went abroad as missionaries, not only preached Christ to all those ignorant of the word of faith, but also delivered to them "the Scripture of the Divine Gospels." There is no doubt as to what Scripture Eusebius meant; nor ought we to doubt the correctness of his information, supported as it is by his usual accuracy and the exact agreement of all other traditions of the time. The written and collected books constituting "the Scripture of the Divine Gospels," played their part already in the reign of Trajan, (i. e. 98-117.)

2. The second testimony is the fact that Justin Martyr, writing, as Mr. Hort has shown, in 145, and speaking of Christian worship, says naturally and as if it had from time immemorial been the custom of the Christians:—"And the Memoirs of the Apostles and the books of the Prophets are read," placing the two on an equality in Divine worship. We shall see hereafter that he means the Gospels by the Memoirs of the Apostles, and we cannot for a moment suppose it was a new or unwarranted usage which he is here describing;—certainly not a usage which had first grown up within his own late memory. Thus the witness stretches back at least as far as the close of the period which we have been describing, and adds confirmation to the conclusions there reached.

SECTION XXXVI.

The SECOND PERIOD of early Christian history is that which, beginning at 120, stretches on to 170 A. D., as usually given, but which we may extend for our own purposes to 175, in order to make it cover the ground before us. It is usually called the "AGE OF THE APOLOGISTS" from the prevailing work of the time, namely, the defense of Christians before the Heathen and against persecution. It might just as well be called the "AGE OF

FRAGMENTS," from the condition in which its literary remains have come down to us. Of all the copious Christian literature which we know to have been produced in this age, the Clementine Homilies and some of the writings of Justin are well nigh all that have reached us in their original form. By the aid of translations, Latin, Syriac, or otherwise, we are able to recover the contents of some few other writings, like the Shepherd of Hermas and the Apology of Melito; but the mass of the literature is wholly lost, a "series of precious quotations" from some of the books having alone been preserved to us, "chiefly by the industry of Eusebius." By a curious chance, also, the books which have come down to us are just those in which we cannot expect to find much allusion to the Scriptures,—mostly apologies to the Heathen, or works bearing on the controversy with the Jews; in one of which cases no books could be appealed to as authoritative, in the other, only the Old Testament. As an example: we have found Tertullian's writings for Christians bristling with New Testament quotations; when we turn to his "Apology" the allusions are scanty indeed. Now, we have Justin's apology; but not his work against Marcion, and so on through the period. We shall find good results flowing from the examination of this period; but we could not have expected it beforehand, and the copiousness of the material which we derive from the fragments we can examine, is sufficient to lead us to see how saturated the other books of the time must have been with Scripture allusions, quotations and language,—works, the list of the names of which, so far as we can gather it, covers nearly every branch of Christian thought and investigation, from church history and commentaries, to controversies with heretics, and exhaustive treatises on special points of theology. Had we one-hundredth part of this literature in our hands, neither the Tuebingen nor any other skeptical historical school, able as they are to resist convincing evidence, could ever have dared to show its face. From the very nature of the case, we shall find more allusions to the Gospels in this period and less to the Epistles than in the first; when the Apostolic Fathers wrote the evangelical tradition, fresh from the mouths of those who had companied with the Lord, was so full and recent that allusions to the written Gospel were necessarily infrequent; in the age of the Apologists, on the other hand, the *facts* of

Christ's life could be more freely disputed,—no eye-witnesses being still alive to authenticate them,—and therefore the written Gospels would be appealed to more as witnesses. We may expect, therefore, a fuller witness to the Gospels and a less full witness to the Epistles.

Without further word, we may proceed immediately to interrogate our fragments as to the witness their authors bear to the Canon.

SECTION XXXVII.

There is some evidence which belongs on the very verge of this period, one which perhaps would be more correctly placed in the preceding age. Thus, we have the testimony of "elders, disciples of the Apostles," whose words are quoted in Irenæus. In the true sense of the word, these are Apostolical Fathers, but, as anonymous witnesses, we have thought best to put them here as our first witnesses for this age. Irenæus quotes such authorities quite frequently, and it is clear that, under this title, he quotes from more than one source; also that some of the references are to written books, others to oral traditions. It is not difficult, however, to distinguish, from the form of quotation which Irenæus uses, the statements derived from writings: and though both classes are valid testimonies from this time, yet it is natural that more stress should be laid on the testimonies taken from books. Among those probably not from written sources, he cites one elder who, in his discourse which Irenæus gives, quotes unmistakably Mat., distinctly attributes Romans to St. Paul, and quotes 1 Cor. by name, as well as refers to Ephesians, and 1 Peter. Among those from written sources we may mention one in which II Cor. xii:4 is unmistakably alluded to, and another, which though quoted anonymously, is almost certainly from Papias, (Lightfoot, *Contemporary Review*, Oct. '75, p. 840, sq.) wherein Mat., Jno. and 1 Cor. are all distinctly quoted,—1 Cor. as the words of the Apostle, and John xiv:2 as the words of the Lord. In still another fragment an elder alludes to Mat. xi:19, preceded by "*inquit*," and to Jno. viii:56.

SECTION XXXVIII.

Here, also, as a link with the Apostolical Fathers, we would cite the witness of PAPIAS. We have no sure data by which to determine the date of his book. Bishop Lightfoot has shown

(Cont. Rev., Aug. '75, p. 381) that the notice in the *Chronicon Paschale* by which his death was placed (by martyrdom) in 164, was a simple blunder of the compiler of that document, or of some subsequent copyist. The statement found in the *Chronicon* is evidently taken from Eusebius (iv. 15., E. H.), and there we find that the true name for the martyrdom is *Papylus* not *Papias*. We know nothing, therefore, of the date of Papias' death, except what can be gathered from general considerations. The facts, however, that he was a hearer of St. John (Irenaeus) and a companion of Polycarp, and even older than he, and that he was also a hearer of at least two other immediate disciples of Christ and of the daughters of Philip, the Apostle,—and, moreover, that Eusebius discusses him in the reign of Trajan, long before he discusses Polycarp,—warn us that he has usually been referred to too late a date. Accepting Dr. Lightfoot's conclusion, we may say that he was born probably A. D. 60–70; he would hardly have lived, therefore, after 140, and probably wrote 120–130. Dr. L. says 130–140, but the data seem to point to an earlier date. As a hearer of John he belongs, at all events, in the witness he bears, no matter when his book was published, at the very beginning of this period. Papias' work consisted of five books and was entitled "*Exegesis of the Dominical Logia*." Eusebius tells us that he quoted it in 1 John, and 1 Peter; and we know otherwise that he accepted Rev. as divinely inspired. Eusebius also quotes passages from it, referring by name to a gospel of Mark, and another of Mat.; which, in the face of all sceptical opposition, are plainly proved to refer to our Mat. and Mark. He does, indeed, state that Matt's was written originally in Hebrew, and consisted of "*ta Logia*"; but he implies that in his day there was an authoritative Greek form, and where a Hebrew and Greek form existed together, it is not strange if a writer unacquainted with the former should make a mistake as to which was the original; and Dr. Lightfoot has conclusively shown that when Matt. is said to have "composed *ta Logia*," it is equivalent to saying he composed "his Scriptures." The attempt of the sceptics to fasten the meaning: "Matt. wrote the discourses" (as if 'Logoi' not 'Logia' were used) on this passage, has utterly broken down. Thus, not only do Romans iii:1 and Heb. v:10 use "*ta Logia*" as equivalent "to the Scriptures," but this was the common usage among uninspired writers before and after Papias. Philo so uses it; Clement of Rome uses "sa-

cred scriptures" and " *ta Logia* of God" as synonymous terms; Polycarp condemns those who "pervert the oracles of the Lord" (*Logia*). Irenæus calls the scriptures " *ta Kyriaka Logia*;" Clement of Alexandria, the "oracles (*Logia*) of truth" and "the inspired Oracles;" so also Origen and Basil, while Ephraem of Antioch received as scriptures (as we are told by Photius), "The scriptures of the Old Testament," " *ta Kyriaka Logia*," "and the preaching of the Apostles," where the disputed phrase is equivalent to "the Gospels." In all cases it is made evident that incidents and acts are included in the phrase. Thus Papias merely states that Mat. composed "his part of the scriptures" or his "Gospel." The reference, like that to Mark, was understood by Eusebius to refer to our Gospel, and indubitably authenticates it.

Some very doubtful coincidences in language with St. Luke's Gospel also are found in the extant fragments of Papias; and some much surer ones with St. John's,—such as the designation of Christ as "the very truth," and of Christian doctrine as "a commandment." A reference to John seems also to be fairly made out in the *order* in which the elders from whom the traditions are drawn are mentioned. Moreover, if we can trust the testimony of some notes found in the preface to an old MS. of the Gospels (Vat. Alex. No. 14); confirmed as it is by Cordearius' Catena, then we know Papias to have possessed our Gospel. Again, if the passage in Irenæus above referred to, be rightly ascribed to Papias, as seems after Dr. Lightfoot's reasoning exceedingly probable, then, again, Papias must have used John, which is quoted in that passage. Again, Papias, we know, used 1 John, and this of itself renders it almost certain that he used the Gospel also. On the whole, then, there can be very little, if any ground to doubt, that he had this Gospel. His witness thus covers Matt., Mark, possibly Luke, John, 1 John, 1 Peter and Rev., and, if the Irenæus fragment is his, 1 Corinthians.

SECTION XXXIX.

It is proper to add here, that around the name of Papias one of the fiercest battles of modern criticism has been, and is being fought. The very character of his book, in the face of his own adequate description of it, is made in the interest of scepticism, a matter of dispute. It has gone so far that it is claimed that it was an attempt to reconstruct a new gospel out of tradi-

tion—founding on the assertion that Papias knew of no authoritative written Gospels. The next step is to say that if any of our Gospels existed then, Papias held them in no esteem. The notices of Matt. and Mark, which we have quoted, have then to be explained away, and made out to refer, not to our Gospels, but to some otherwise unknown works bearing the same names, for which, by some miraculous process, our Gospels (although earlier ages testify to their existence before) were afterwards, unperceived by any one, substituted. We have seen how the reference to Matt. has been dealt with, by an attempt to foist a peculiar meaning on the word *Logia*; and we have seen how unsuccessful the attempt has been. The case against the reference to Mark is even weaker. We need trouble ourselves only with the two main subjects of dispute;—all the others hang on them. They are—1, What was the character of Papias' book—a new Gospel, or an explanation of an old Gospel? 2, Did Papias know our Gospel of John?

1. What was the character of Papias' book? The sceptics say it was an attempt to frame a new Gospel from traditional sources, and that Papias openly discredits all previous "books" of the same sort. Now, for this argument there are only two chief data. The first of these is the title of Papias' book. This was "*Logion Kuriakon Exegesis*." The sceptics translate: "Ennarration of the Divine *Logia*." But (A) while it is true that *exegesis* can possibly mean "ennarration," it is also true that its usual and obvious meaning is "exposition." *Diegesis* is the proper word for "ennarration." *Exegesis* properly expresses "exposition"—"exegesis." (B) Where we find this title—in Eusebius—it is the common word for "exposition." (C) And this is not only its obvious meaning, but its necessary meaning here. Papias himself explains it as "exposition." In the beginning of the extract from his preface which Eusebius preserves for us, he writes thus: "But I will not scruple *also* to give a place *along with my interpretations* (*sunkatataxei*) to all that I learned carefully in times past from the elders." The staple of his book was therefore *interpretations* (*hermen-eiai*). Again, (D) The example which Irenæus gives of Papias' book (quoting his name with it, and professedly referring it to him,) is an example of exegesis. Then, (E) By all later writers who quote him he is called an *exegete*. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that *exegesis* in the title means "exposi-

tion.” The book, therefore, was an exposition *Logion Kyriakon*. What that means, we have already seen. We are therefore forced from the title to regard the work as an “Exposition of the Sacred Scriptures.” What sacred scriptures are meant may be learned from the adjective *kyriakon* (cf. Ephraem, § 38), as well as from the careful notices of Matthew and Mark which are given. These two gospels at least formed a part of them.

The other chief datum for the character of the work is an extract from the preface preserved by Eusebius, and the beginning of which we have already quoted. From that beginning we see how clearly it teaches that the book was a book of *interpretations* (*hermeneiai*). The traditions which Papias is collecting, he is gathering together to illustrate his expositions. He speaks half apologetically of them. They do not form the staple of his book; but he will give them *also* a place *along with* his expositions. Why? The last clause of the passage tells us: “For I did not think I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterance of a living and abiding voice.” He rightly judges that an authentic statement of the immediate disciples of the Lord, taken from their own lips or the lips of their followers, conveying or illustrating the meaning of our Lord, was a better help in explaining the meaning of the Gospels than any commentaries could be. But the sceptics say, these “books” to which he prefers tradition are our Gospels. What has been said will show the absurdity of this. He was exegeting our Gospels; and the books to which he prefers the tradition were undoubtedly the *helps* to his exegesis. Plainly Papias’ book was an “Explanation of Our Gospels.” Now, notice the meaning of this to us: here is a detailed commentary on our Gospels; they are called “Dominical Oracles,” a term, *Logia*, used in the New Testament for “scriptures”—a phrase used ever afterward for “divine scriptures.” Therefore, (1) the Gospels are not new in the church; (2) they were held as divine scriptures.

2. The second burning question is: did Papias know our John? We have already given reasons which go to show that he did know it. To them the sceptics oppose this: that Eusebius from whom almost all our knowledge of Papias comes does not say that Papias had John; and hence arises the famous argument from the “*Silence of Eusebius*.” It is claimed that if Papias had used John, we know from Eusebius prac-

tice elsewhere that he would have mentioned the fact. That he does not mention it proves that Papias did not know our John. Since Papias was said to be a pupil of John; since he lived in Asia Minor, and was a companion of Polycarp;—if *he* did not know John's gospel, then probably John never wrote such a book. To this we answer: 1. We have earlier testimony than Papias for John;—and adequate later testimony, so that even if the silence of Eusebius should imply that Papias did not possess John, no such results would follow as are asserted. 2. We know otherwise that Papias did have John, (see §38). 3. The silence of Eusebius does not imply what is asserted, but the reverse. If Papias had quoted John a million of times, Eusebius, as we know from his practice elsewhere, would have passed them all over in utter silence. Here is a square issue with the sceptics:—as to the implication of Eusebius' silence; and as much of the literature of this time is fragmentary, and Eusebius is our chief authority for it, it is an important point and demands some treatment. Therefore we shall make an examination of this point.

SECTION XL.

What does the *silence of Eusebius* imply? The question can be answered only by an examination of (1) what Eusebius professes to do, and (2) what he does do. The sceptics say he professes to mention every use of a scripture book by the earlier writers. Does he? Turn to his book (H. E. iii:3) and read. He himself tells us what method he will follow. "I will take care," he says, "to indicate which ones of the church writers from time to time have used what ones of the disputed books;—and what has been said by them concerning the canonical and acknowledged writings, and whatsoever concerning those not such." What he promises then is to do three things: 1. To mention all references to the *disputed* (antilegomena) writings. 2. To tell any anecdotes which he finds of interest about the undisputed (homologoumena) books. 3. To record everything he finds recorded about those *not* canonical and undisputed. He himself gives us a list of what he considers undisputed books; *St. John's Gospel is among them*. Thus Eusebius does not profess to quote the testimonies for St John. His silence then as to Papias' use of St. John's Gospel implies *nothing against* his use of it.

This will be made plainer by noticing Eusebius' practice. He professes to quote no testimonies for the undoubted books; and he names as undoubted books the four Gospels, Acts, and the thirteen Epistles of Paul, together with 1 Peter and 1 John. In practice he is found to class 1 Peter and 1 John with the other Catholic Epistles, and to quote testimonies for them; but this is his only divergence from his rule. Of the others, what is his practice? In cases where we can test him, how does he act? Of Clement of Rome he merely remarks that he used Heb. We have Clement's epistle. Does he use no other New Testament books? We find that he not only alludes to many other books, but actually names the Epistle to the Corinthians, and ascribes it to St. Paul. We have seen what witness to our canon, and to St. John, Ignatius bears. Eusebius merely mentions him to say he had employed expressions from a source unknown to him, but hints not a word about his many allusions to the canon. Of Polycarp, again, he merely says that he used 1 Peter. We know how much else he used. Theophilus of Antioch mentions John's Gospel by name, and quotes several of Paul's Epistles; Eusebius says nothing of it—but merely states, "he has used testimonies from the Apocalypse of John." So, also, in the face of Irenæus' copious references to our scriptures and to St. John, Eusebius merely says that he used 1 Peter, 1 John, and quoted Hermas as scripture. Eusebius' practice then tallies with his promise; he does *not* give the testimonies for the undisputed books. He never quotes mere testimonies to the Gospels, Acts, or Pauline epistles; he never gives a single testimony to John; and his silence as to the use of them by any writer implies nothing at all against even the fullest use. Did not Irenæus use John and Paul? Theophilus, John? or Polycarp, Paul? As far as Papias is concerned, then, the silence of Eusebius implies nothing against his fullest use of John. And for all subsequent time we must remember, (1) that when Eusebius is silent as to the use of undisputed writings of any author, it raises *no* presumption against that use, even to the fullest extent; and (2) when he is silent about the use of disputed writings, it raises some presumption against its use, but does not disprove it; for we find Eusebius very sceptical here; and where we can test him, we find that he quotes only the absolutely clear references. "*In no instance where we can test him, does*

he give a doubtful testimony." (Lightfoot). Where he gives a testimony, then, it can be relied on implicitly. "On the other hand, he omits several which might be fairly alleged"—and therefore his silence, even on the disputed books, is not absolutely *conclusive* testimony that the writers did not use them. He omits the reference to 1 John in Polycarp, and yet it is absolutely plain. So much, then, for the silence of Eusebius.

(On this most important subject see Lightfoot, *Cont. Rev.*, January, 1875, from which the foregoing section has been condensed.)

SECTION XLI.

Taking it for established, therefore, that the testimony of Papias is valid for the books which have been named, both arguments against such a conclusion—as well that from the character of his book as that from the silence of Eusebius—having utterly broken down on examination, we may now proceed to cite the witness of a brood of heretics which arose early in the second century. The fact that the early heretics possessed and used the books of our New Testament is an irrefragable argument for the authenticity of these books;—it proves beyond the possibility of gainsaying that they had attained to such authority in the church, and had for so long a time held that authority, that even those who withdrew from the communion of the church felt constrained to cling to its books. When we consider the early date of these heresies, the consequent earlier date of the New Testament scriptures reached thus, puts them back into the days of the Apostles. All the church fathers who opposed the heretics call attention to the fact that they held our books; and the extant fragments of their speculations confirm the statements of the fathers that they depended on ridiculous exegesis of the scriptures to support their tenets rather than cast off those scriptures as unauthentic. By this it is not meant that no heretic discarded any part of the sacred writings; many of them discarded large portions of the New Testament, as we hold it. But each of them retained some books, and thus they severally give their witness to the position which the writing which each retained had attained in the church. And again, we have no hint that any discarded writing was rejected on historic grounds; they professed an al-

tered christianity, and by this fact each was led to reject certain books which obstinately would not be made by any exegesis—fanciful or not—to accord with their views. Never do we read of any system based on a canon historically reconstructed, but always of a canon arbitrarily reconstructed to accord with preconceived views. The witness of heretics to our books, then, is very important—proving as it does that these books had reached such authority that they were not able to shake them off, even when they were in opposition to their teaching. So long as they could bend and twist them, so as that they should not absolutely condemn them, they clung to them.

SECTION XLII.

Passing by CERINTHUS, the contemporary of the Apostle John, and who was acquainted with all the main facts of the Gospel, we may consider first the witness borne to our canonical books by the early SIMONIANS. The sect was constituted of the followers of *Simon Magus*, mentioned in the Acts, and claimed as their authoritative book, the "GREAT ANNOUNCEMENT" which was published under the name of Simon himself. Though it is certainly not his, it yet seems to have come from the hand of one of his immediate followers, and is probably a record of his oral teachings. It belongs, therefore, to a time not much if any later than the opening of this period. It is quoted several times by Hippolytus, and in the fragments which we thus gain we find coincidences and allusions to our Math., Luke and John and 1 Cor. The reference to 1 Cor. is of such sort as to show that it was held as equally authoritative with the Old Testament, being quoted with the formula "*that which was spoken.*" The Simonians witness, therefore, (A. D. 100-120) that the Epistles of Paul were held as Scriptural.

SECTION XLIII.

Next among these heretics we may mention BASILIDES. The date of his teaching is placed with great certainty in the reign of Hadrian, 117-137. He probably began to attract attention about 125. He was the author of twenty-four books "on the Gospels," as we learn from his younger contemporary and opponent Agrippa Castor; and Clement of Alexandria quotes from the 23d book and calls the whole "The Exegetics." As it is undoubted that Irenaeus used "The Gospel" (singu-

lar) in a collective sense, it cannot be denied that Basilides might have also used it as comprehending our four Gospels. Putting all these notices together it is most probable that his book was a Philosophico-exegetical Commentary on our four Gospels. Eusebius certainly so understood it, and Clement of Alexandria also seemingly, who had the book in their hands. From the teachings of Basilides we have numerous quotations in Clement, Epiphianus, Irenaeus and Hyppolytus, the only difficulty being to distinguish between what is quoted directly from Basilides and what from his followers. Undoubtedly some of the quotations are from Basilides' own book. Undoubtedly many of those in Hyppolytus are from it. All are valid witnesses for the period 125-175, but it is a more difficult matter to distinguish those from the earlier years. Hyppolytus promises to give both what Basilides says, and what his followers say. What he introduces by the singular therefore, "he says", is (certainly in some cases) probably from Basilides himself. In such passages we find clear and indubitable references to Matt., Luke, John, Romans, 1 & 2 Cor., Eph. and Col. There is also a doubtful reference to 1 Tim., and, from Clement Alexandrinus' Strom. iv:12, he seems to have used 1 Peter. Among these quotations Luke xi:35 is quoted verbally, preceded by "That which was spoken." Two separate passages from Romans(viii:22 and v:13-14) have "as it is written" prefixed. 1 Cor. ii:13 is cited as "The Scripture." To 2 Cor. xii:4, "it is written" is prefixed, and to John i:9 is prefixed "That which is said in the Gospels." This last passage taken from John we may say too, is almost certainly from Basilides himself. He is named in the immediately preceding context, and the "he says" seems almost beyond doubt to refer to him. We need add no more references,--from the passages professedly attributed to the Basilideans. These which we have given are probably from Basilides himself, although some of them may be later. They are, therefore, probably valid from 125-135. The value of the references will be readily seen. Not only do they cover three gospels, six epistles of Paul and 1 Peter, but they also directly witness to Luke, John, Romans, 1 and 2 Cor. as Scripture. Those of the catholic books which a heretic like Basilides quoted as scriptures, were *a fortiori* recognized as such by the church. He accepts them only because their authority was so firmly seated, that, coming from the bosom of the church himself, he did not know how to shake off the authority of the church's scriptures

SECTION XLIV.

Among the very earliest of the Gnostical heretics were the **OPHITES**, a sect which seems to have had many sub-divisions, and whose tenets were held under many names. The sect seems to have been a pre-christian sect, a part of whom afterward embraced a semi-christianity. They lived early in the second century, and seem to have been the first who assumed the title of Gnostics, under the name of Ophites. Hyppolytus cites from their books frequently, and the passages cited furnish us with the following clear references, namely: several each to the Gospels of Matt., Luke and John; also, to Romans, 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., and most probable references to Heb. and Rev. They also made use of two apocryphal Gospels,—which fact need not surprise us. The Peratici are also quoted by Hyppolytus, and as citing John's Gospel, 1 Cor. and Col.; and not only so, but as citing all three as scriptural—John with “That which was spoken”, 1 Cor. as “The Scripture”, and Col. with “That which is said.” From the writings of the Sethiani, we gain references to Matt., John, 2 Cor. and Phil. The various Ophites thus yield us references to three Gospels, seven Epistles of Paul, Heb. and Rev., and they ascribe scriptural authority to John's Gospel, 1 Cor. and Col.

SECTION XLV.

Although their date is not exactly known, we ought here, also, probably to introduce the testimony of the **CARPOCRATIANS**. Carpocrates, the most Greek in his speculations of all the Gnostic teachers, was an Alexandrian, and a contemporary with Basilides. We cannot err much, therefore, in citing the witness of his followers here. We have very little from the School to cite,—chiefly drawn from the remarks of Irenæus, from which we learn that they received our Canonical Gospels, and adapted them “to their own doctrines by strange expositions,” and that the key-word of their system was, “By faith and love are we saved,”—which bears witness to the doctrines of Paul and John,—although the conclusions they drew from it, that therefore all other things were indifferent, even the grossest immorality of action, could bear witness only to the doctrine of the devil.

On the whole, we gain from the earliest gnostic and gnosti-cizing heretics—up to, say A. D. 135—the following results: We

have found them possessing the three Gospels of Matt., Luke and John; nine of the Epistles of Paul: Romans, 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Col., Phil., 1 Tim.; Heb., 1 Peter and Rev.; and we have found them quoting *as Scripture* Luke's and John's Gospels, as well as Paul's Epistles to the Romans, 1 and 2 Cor. and Col. We have also gained this knowledge: that so firmly were the Scriptures fixed by this time in the church, that the heretics who discarded the Church's doctrine, yet could not bring themselves to discard the writings on which that doctrine rested. As Irenaeus says so strongly, (writing in the next generation): "So firm is the position of the Gospels, that the heretics themselves bear testimony to them; and each one of them endeavors to confirm his doctrine by taking his start from them." (Irenaeus III:4-3). This phenomenon seems to authenticate our scriptures, and to render it impossible to deny, not only that they were during this period—120-175—held as divine, but that they had been held as such for a long period previous. What we have learned from orthodox writers of the first and second quarters of the century, we now learn from the heretics of the opening of the second quarter, namely, that the Scriptures of our New Testament were from the beginning held by the church to be the divine law and rule of faith and life.

SECTION XLVI.

The next witness we shall cite is JUSTIN MARTYR. Of the writings which are attributed to him, we have as undoubted from his pen: The Two Apologies and The Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew. After Mr. Hort's careful examination, there can be very little doubt about the chronology of his life. He shows that his death should be assigned to 148, and the composition of his first Apology to 145 or 146. If the second Apology be really a separate book, it belongs to 146 or 147, and the Dialogue with Trypho to about the same time. The character of the extant works of Justin, it will be seen, is exactly that in which we have already shown the least full and the least definite references to our scriptures could be expected. Otherwise, we have a right to look for strong testimony from Justin. Both his date and his culture, and the broadness of his acquaintance with the church—having been born in Samaria, and having traveled much, besides having resided both in Rome and Greece—give a peculiar value to his witness as the witness of the general church.

As to the extent of his testimony, it covers fully the four Gospels, the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Gal., 1 Cor., 2 Thes., Heb., 1 John, 2 Peter and Rev.—the last of which he appeals to by name and as inspired. To the Acts of the Apostles there are more doubtful references. About Justin's allusions to the Gospels there has been no end of controversy. All manner of hypotheses have been invented to break their full force; but in vain. The only two really tenable theories which remain are, (1) that Justin used our Gospels as we have them, or (2) that Justin quotes from a harmony of those Gospels. Either alternative would serve our purposes equally well. A brief glance at the phenomena of Justin's allusions will suffice to establish this position. The records from which he derives these evangelical allusions, Justin calls "The Memoirs of the Apostles," (*Ta Apomnemoneumata ton Apostolon*). He states they were read together with the writings of the Prophets in the weekly assemblies of the Christians. This conjunction alone goes far to authenticate them as Divine, and also throws discredit on the idea which has been advanced that these "Memoirs" were a single work, composed conjointly by the Apostles. They are made parallel with "*Ta Suggrammata of the Prophets*." If the latter are various writings of different Prophets, the former may equally well be separate writings, (in one collection) of different "Apostles."—Justin, however, does not lead us to suppose that they were all written by those who were technically "Apostles." He carefully states to the contrary; he distinctly says, (Dial. c. 103) of these Memoirs: "which were composed by his Apostles and their followers." And, again, he allows us to see that this peculiar name "Memoirs," is one indeed peculiar to him, writing in another place, "The Memoirs of the Apostles, which are called Gospels." Though thus more than one, however, they yet possessed an internal unity, and thus Justin can speak freely of them, not only in the use as above of the plural "evangelica," but also in the use of the singular "the evangel." Now what can be meant here other than our Gospels? Both our Gospels, and the writings from which Justin quotes are Memoirs of Christ, written by Apostles and their followers; both are one and yet many; both are called Gospels, &c.; Justin's description exactly fits our Gospels, and no other set of books ever given to the church. When we

remember that these same four Gospels were so fully known as we have seen them before Justin ; and that Justin's own pupil, Tatian, made a harmony of them ;—and when we hold in mind that Irenæus, at the very time that Justin was writing those notices, was sitting at the feet of Polycarp, learning of him what he so fully states some thirty years later of these same four Gospels—it will be seen to be almost incredible that these divine and ecclesiastical books which Justin quotes, can be held to be any other than the already ecclesiastically accepted and sacred four-fold Gospel. If now we examine the material which Justin got out of the “ Memoirs,” we will see on how firm a basis this conclusion is founded. In only seven (7) cases does he profess to give the words of these “ Memoirs.” Five of these *agree verbally* with passages in our Matt. and Luke—namely : Matt. iv:10, v:20, xii:39, xvii:11-13, and Luke xxiii:46. The sixth passage, while not reproducing any passage from our Gospels *verbally*, is undoubtedly taken from Matt., presenting a compressed summary of Matt. xxviii:39 sq., quoted evidently from memory. The seventh passage alone requires consideration. It is as follows :—And also it is written in the Gospel that Christ said, “ All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knoweth the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and those to whomsoever the Son will reveal.” The closeness of this to Matt. xi:27 will be evident on first sight. The transposition of the clauses ; the change of the aorist of Matt. to the perfect in the first verb, and the alteration of Matt’s. “ to whomsoever the Son shall please to reveal Him,” to Justin’s “ to whomsoever the Son shall reveal (Him),” are the only striking differences: while the whole passage is a striking resemblance. Although, then, this passage has been frequently cited to show that Justin’s “ Memoirs ” were other than our Gospels, it had better be relied on to prove the contrary ; it seems rather that there can be no doubt but that Justin got it from Matt xi:27. How little stress can be laid on the transposition and other peculiarities of the passage as it occurs in Justin, appears from the fact that *every one* of them can be found in quotations confessedly from Matt. xi:27 in other writers of the succeeding three-quarters of a century—such as Irenæus and Origen. *All the passages, therefore, which Justin pretends to have gotten from his “ Memoirs of the Apostles,” are found in our Gospels.*

This ought to settle the matter. If he states facts elsewhere, not assigning them to his "Memoirs" which do not occur in our Gospels, we have no evidence that he got them out of his "Memoirs", rather than from traditional sources, (his contemporary, Papias, could find copious traditions, and make use of them, and why not Justin?) and, therefore, they prove nothing against what we have found thus far in favor of identifying his "Memoirs" with our Gospels. But this does not anything like indicate the strength of the evidence which we have for this identification. What Justin knows of Christ's life we find to be just what he would know if he possessed and used our Gospels. We can gather a full and connected account of the whole of Christ's life from the notices in Justin, embracing even the details of the early and peculiar chapters of Matt. and Luke, and consisting of scores of particulars. More than twenty facts are given by Justin, for instance, up to the return from Egypt. Justin's acquaintance with the history, in other words, is detailed and precise, and the history as he gives it is just the history as contained in our three Synoptic Gospels. Only twelve incidents among them all are given which could even hint at an origin outside of our Gospels; and a glance at these will show how impossible it is to hold that they necessitate, or even render probable, a use even along side of our Gospels, of any other such writings. The first of them is a statement that Cyrenius was the first Procurator (Epitropos) of Judea. This not only is not found in our Gospels, but was not the fact. It was probably a simple historical mistake. Next, it is stated that Christ was born in a *cave*—in the midst of a passage evidently taken from Luke. We are told that we must assume that Justin here quotes from a lost Gospel in order to get the reference to the "*cave*." His allusion, however, is almost certainly to the LXX of Is. xxxiii:16: "He shall dwell in a high *cave* of a strong rock." In like manner, another fact which he gives us, "That Christ was not comely of aspect," he expressly tells us had been prophesied—whence he took it. Again, Justin says the Magi were from Arabia; but why might not that be a traditional as well as a written opinion, or even Justin's own guess? Again, he says *all* the children of Bethlehem were massacred—which ought to be set down to simple careless exaggeration. Once more he tells us, Christ made, while a carpenter, plows and yokes; and although the same state-

ment is found in an Apocryphal gospel, it does not necessarily follow that Justin quoted it thence, especially as this is the only coincidence with that gospel, and Mark states the main fact, that Christ was a carpenter. John, again we are told, *sat* by the Jordan:—do we need a new gospel to explain his sitting? All of these facts are too slender to mention. Some of the others are more important: Thus, Justin tells us that when Christ was baptized a fire was kindled in Jordan. If he did not get this statement from tradition, we know not whence he got it. No Apocryphal gospel coming down to us contains it. The Ebionite gospel, indeed, says that a great light shone around the place; but that is essentially different. An old Latin MS. of the New Testament passage says, a great light shone around about *from the water*. If Justin's copy of the Gospels read thus, he might have altered this statement from it. Again we are told that the Spirit, when it descended on Christ after His baptism, addressed Him in the words, "Thou art my son, this day I have begotten thee": quoting a Messianic Psalm. This differs from the Gospel's account of the words, but we need not assume an Apocryphal source for it, since we know it was a very early various reading in our New Testament. Then D., one of our best MS., contains it; so do several MSS. of the old Latin. Augustin tells us it was current in his day. Justin may have gotten it, and probably did get it, therefore, out of his bible. Justin tells us again that the Jews ascribed Christ's miracles to magic; that John's mission ceased when Christ appeared in public, &c; but in no case gives us any grounds for thinking he quotes from anything else than our Scriptures; and adds only these few details—true or false—from tradition, or his own inference. The folly of ascribing them to Apocryphal gospels is also strongly seen from the fact that the few which are also found in Apocryphal gospels, do not occur in the same gospel; but we are obliged to make Justin draw one fact from each of several. We must remember, however, (first) that the Apocryphal gospels were not altogether made out of whole cloth, but were also founded in many details on tradition—a twisted and warped tradition, indeed, but yet a tradition; (secondly) that this tradition was generally wide-spread; and (thirdly) that other writers could, therefore, happen occasionally on the same facts. We may conclude with certainty that Justin's history of Christ's life was derived from our Gospels. It takes

Mr. Sanday (in *The Gospels in the Second Century*) seven pages to states the facts in which Justin coincides with the historical account in our Synoptical Gospels. Moreover, Justin quotes numerous sayings of Christ's, and all of these, with *two* possible exceptions, were taken from our Gospels. We can count many verbal coincidences with Matt. and Luke, and one certain one with Mark. They are too numerous to give. The only two exceptions among all Justin's quotations that can be claimed with any show of plausibility, are these: 1. 'Christ said, "There shall be schisms and heresies.'" We may compare 1 Cor. xi:18-19 with this. We certainly do not need to invent a lost gospel to account for it. 2. The other is: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ said, "In whatsoever I find you, in this will I also judge you.'" This does not occur in our Scriptures: nor again does it occur in any known Apocryphal book. It is doubtless a traditional saying of Christ's, as the first may be. When we set up against these the mass of Justin's numerous references to Matt. and Luke, we may well wonder that any one could have imagined that his sources could be other than our Gospels. With Mark he shows less connection, chiefly because of its brevity, but yet some undoubted references to him can be cited. The most important allusion is to Mark iii:16-17. To John, again, Justin witnesses fully and in many ways. He has John's theology, and even begins to philosophize on the Logos Doctrine; and he furnishes several certain allusions. The most important one is from John iii, and is as follows: "For Christ also said, 'Unless ye be born again ye may not enter into the kingdom of heaven: but it is clear to all that it is impossible for those once born to enter into the wombs of those that bare them.'" This passage is remarkable (first) for its exceedingly clear reminiscence of John iii, and (second) for its exceeding *freeness* of allusion. It shows Justin's habit of quoting from memory in a very plain light. That this was his habit we know in many ways. For instance, he has sixty-seven repetitions of quotations from the Old Testament. If he did not quote from memory each repetition would coincide with the previous quotation. But in the sixty-seven cases, twenty-nine show very decided variations, fourteen slight ones, and only ten are alike. That is in only ten cases out of sixty-seven where he has repeated quotations—has he repeated them in the same words in which he first stated them? He deals

even more freely with the New Testament. But perhaps we have said enough of Justin. For a full discussion of the phenomena which his writings exhibit, see Westcott "On the Canon," and Sanday "Gospels in the Second Century"; also, see, and especially for John's Gospel, Dr. Abbot's "Authorship of the Fourth Gospel," where additional reference to John are found.

The result is that Justin certainly used our Gospels, and ours alone, Rev., and certain of Paul's Epistles which have been already named. He probably used Acts, also, though this is less certain. He describes our Gospels fully, and makes them equal in authority to the Prophets, i. e., divine. The only question is, did he use the Gospels themselves, or a harmony of them? Although their passages are combined in his references, yet there seems to be no reason for ascribing this combination to a set harmony. Justin's own instinctive harmonizing at the moment of quotation would account for all the facts.

SECTION XLVII.

And here, on approaching the middle of the century, it is time to gather up some fragments certainly not later than about 150. First of these we must mention the CONCLUDING PORTION OF THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS. The writer speaks of himself as a disciple of the Apostles, and a teacher of Gentiles; and everything in the fragment accords with the early date thus indicated. It is Alexandrian rather than pure Greek in its tone, but bears equal testimony to the Canon with the first part of the epistle: John's Gospel is *verbatim* quoted, and often unmistakably alluded to in it; besides which there is a clear reference to 1 Cor., and a doubtful one to I Tim. The other Gospels seem also to have been known. In one striking passage "the fear of the Law" and "the grace of the Prophets," are joined immediately with the "faith of the Gospels" and the "tradition of the Apostles."

SECTION XLVIII.

The so-called SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT to which allusion has been already made, should be considered next. It also is a writing addressed from a Gentile to Gentiles, and was written certainly before 140, and probably before 130. Its theol-

ogy shows in its catholic breadth the influence of John, Paul and James, decidedly and unmistakably. John's gospel, Matt., [Mark,] Luke, 1 Cor., Heb. and Gal., are undoubtedly alluded to, while several other Epistles are more doubtfully quoted. Matt. ix:13, (or Mark ii:17) is quoted as Scripture. A quotation of Luke xvi:10 again is preceded by these words, "For the Lord says in the Gospel"; and another by the words "God says."

There are also found in this fragment three quotations of our Lord's words not found in our Scriptures, two of which are also not found in any known Apocryphal source. These three are: 1. "The Lord said, 'If ye should be gathered with me in my bosom, and not do my commandments, I will cast you forth, and say unto you, Begone from me, I know you not whence ye are, workers of iniquity.'" For this passage there seems to be no reason to seek other origin than in a free reminiscence of Luke xiii:27, and Matt. iii:23. 2. This is a conversation between Peter and Jesus, based on Mark x:16 sq., Luke x:3, xii:45, but for which we must assume some traditional source, written or unwritten—probably apocryphal. 3. The third is found also, as we are told by Clement of Alexandria, in the Gospel to the Egyptians, whence probably our present writer got it. That he has quoted from an apocryphal book, it is to be noted, does not weaken his testimony to our scriptures. It does indeed witness that that book existed before he wrote; but as he does not call it scripture, it cannot be held that he made no distinction between it and the gospels which he does call scripture. He appeals for a *fact* to the Gospel according to the Egyptians, but perhaps only as a (in his opinion) credible history; not positively as inspired. Thus Clement of Alexandria quotes apocryphal gospels, and yet expressly confines the inspired to our four. Apocryphal gospels we must repeat, contained sometimes traditional facts, as well as invented fables, and thus individuals would grow to esteem their account often beyond their value. Some could even ascribe an inspiration to them; of this number, however, we have no proof that the author of this fragment was one. Not only has the writer of this homily quoted New Testament passages as scripture; but he also knows of a New Testament called "*The Apostles*," forming a part of "*The Oracles of God*," and read as the voice of the "God of truth," in the congregation. He thus witnesses to a collected canon of divine authority.

SECTION XLIX.

Here also we may quote the writings attributed doubtfully to Justin Martyr, but which, though they may not be his, are yet not much later than him. I mean the fragment on the Resurrection, and the Address and Exhortation to the Greeks. In the first we find allusion to the history of the Gospels, including traits characteristic of each of the four, and with them no trace of outside tradition ; and references to 1 Cor., Phil. and 1 Tim. In the second we find allusions to John's Gospel, Acts, 1 Cor., Gal. and Col.

SECTION L.

Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, speaks of a certain "Ponticus," named MARCION, who had caused many to blaspheme, who was "*still*" teaching. That Apology was written in 145 or 146, and *at that* time, therefore, Marcionism was by no means a new thing. We may assign the commencement of his teaching, therefore, to a date not later than 139. He lived long, however, and synchronized for a series of years with the life of Irenæus. We may not unfitly treat of him, therefore, now. Most heretics met opposition to their peculiar doctrines by wild exegesis of the books of the church, wherever those books conflicted with them. Marcion was more bold : he cast aside the catholic canon, and formed a new one for himself, retaining only those books (or parts of books) which accorded with his doctrines. This contrast is explicitly drawn by his opponents. *In Marcion's Canon—in the very fact that he even had a Canon—we have the Church's Canon authenticated.* For Marcion would not have felt the need of retaining a canon, except that he found the church with one. His consisted of a mutilated copy of Luke, and of ten Epistles of Paul, (omitting the Pastorals) likewise somewhat mutilated. Tertullian tells us that Marcion and the Marcionites defended their procedure by claiming they had made no *innovation*, but had merely *restored* what had been corrupted, (Adv. Marc. 1:20). This proves that when Marcion lived the church had a "canon," which consisted of more books than Marcion retained. The church writers who oppose him confirm the inference, and let us know (Irenæus, Tertullian, etc.) that the "other books" are the other books which constitute our New Testament. Two other points may be urged here in additional confirma-

tion. 1. Marcion's canon still bore the name which we have found was the familiar designation of their sacred books in the mouths of the Christians of his day—"The Gospel and the Apostle" (or *Apostolicon*), doubtless retaining the title which he found in use among his contemporaries. 2. Though Marcion rejected the remaining books as not authoritative, we have no evidence that he denied their authenticity. "The first Apostles, according to him, had an imperfect apprehension of the truth, and their writings necessarily partook of this imperfection." Paul alone was fully instructed; his writings, and those in full accord with his seeming anti-judaism, could alone represent the truth. Thus he took Luke's Gospel and Paul's Epistles, and cut out from them all passages not anti-Judaic as manifest interpolations. To sum up: In 140 Marcion had a "canon," having the same name which was current among Christians to designate their collection of sacred books; consisting of a portion of our books, somewhat mutilated, and professing to be a restoration of a corruption; while not denying that Apostles wrote the other books. It follows therefore that the orthodox also had a canon which Marcion wished to purify; and that it contained more than Marcion admitted. His action proves, therefore, that the church possessed substantially our canon—for, of course, the extra books were the books which we know otherwise the church possessed and esteemed as divine. The additional point that Marcion brings so clearly out, is that these books existed together as a "canon."

Of course such testimony as this has not been allowed by the sceptics to pass unchallenged. The form in which their attack comes is an effort to show that either (first) Marcion's Gospel and Luke's were independent recensions of the same (now lost) original, or (secondly) that Luke's was made by interpolating Marcion's, instead of Marcion's by mutilating Luke's. The first alternative is disposed of by showing that they cannot be independent. The following remarks will be in point;—remembering that from the full notices in Epiphanius, Tertullian, &c., we have Marcion's gospel before us, with almost the same certainty that we have Luke's: 1. The opponents of Marcion, who were moreover in some cases (e. g. Irenaeus) also his contemporaries, assert that he mutilated Luke. 2. He professed to restore a corrupted canon to its original pure form. 3. At all events, the two gospels are not in-

dependent, for they follow each other accurately. Throughout, and with most unimportant exceptions, they follow the same arrangement. Except that the first chapter of Marcion's Gospel is altered in arrangement from Luke III (Luke I and II are omitted by Marcion); and, except one other short misplacement, the intricate order of Luke is followed exactly. 4. Of the 804 verses contained in St. Luke, Marcion's gospel contains 495, *verbatim*, with the exception of some 30 words—some of which are various readings in Luke. Other considerations could be urged, but this is enough to prove the two cannot be independent. Now, did Marcion mutilate Luke, or Luke interpolate Marcion? Notice, 1. We have already seen that Luke existed before Marcion could have written. There are numerous quotations from Luke in writers who wrote before Marcion lived. 2. Marcion, as is confessed, mutilated Paul's Epistles; and so he might be expected to act in the same way with Luke. 3. His contemporary opponents state that he did mutilate Luke. 4. He professed to be a restorer. 5. The omitted portions are exactly those which would have been omitted by one holding his heresy, should such an one attempt a reconstruction of Luke's Gospel. 6. A careful examination of the style and language of the parts contained in Luke, and not contained in Marcion, shows that the *same author must have written them who wrote the rest of the Gospel*. Therefore, Marcion could not have framed the one portion and an interpolator the other. This last point is wrought out in detail in Sanday's "Gospels in the Second Century," pp. 222 sq. with convincing power. (Consult that passage for this whole section.) On the whole, all attempts to make the contrary plausible, have utterly failed; and it remains established as one of the surest results of modern criticism, that Marcion mutilated Luke, and therefore Luke existed before him. Hence follow the results already stated. It is further interesting to note that in the text of Marcion's Luke existed a number of various readings which put the composition of Luke's Gospel back considerably before Marcion used it.

SECTION LI.

Another contemporary of Justin's was the heresiarch **VALENTINUS**, who professed to draw his peculiar opinions from a certain Theodas, a disciple of Paul. Though contemporary

with Marcion, and like him professing to restore a pure Paulinism, he yet differed from that heretic, both in system and in his dealing with the canon. Tertullian expressly draws the contrast, (*de Praescr. Haer.* 38) saying that Valentinus used the "whole Instrument," (*integro Instrumento uti*) while Marcion mutilated it; to gain their peculiar views, the one "altered the Scriptures with the hand, the other the sense by exposition." ' Marcion used the sword, (or, as we would say, perhaps, "the shears") while Valentinus used the pen, in adapting the Scriptures to their systems.' This is confirmed by Irenaeus, (*Haer.* III:11, 7, 9) and as Irenaeus was a younger contemporary of Valentinus, his testimony becomes of much value. Here then is a contemporary of Marcion accepting the whole canon, as Irenaeus and Tertullian (i. e., substantially as we) understand that word. Many fragments of his writings have been preserved to us; and although it is not plain always whether the fragment belongs to Valentinus himself, or to one of his pupils, yet they bear valid witness for this period. Some of them being from himself, belong to, say 140; none are later than 175—probably not so late by at least ten years. One fragment, certainly from Valentinus, preserved by Clement of Alexandria, contains a reference to Matt., and, in Volkmar's opinion, also to Luke. The other fragments, which may be Valentinus' own, but may be possibly from a pupil, give us references to Matt., Luke, John, Romans, 1 Cor., Eph., and, probably to Heb. and 1 John. Ephesians is cited as "*the Scripture.*"

Many alterations of minute textual points were charged against Valentinus, as also against Marcion, by their church opponents. Many of these, if not all, were simple various readings which we can yet find in our various manuscripts, and consequently arose from the use by their opponents of copies of the Scriptures gotten from different sources. The fact, however, of the charge having been made, suggests three remarks: 1. There can be no doubt but that these heretics used our books—the same that we now have. 2. The text had already a long lineage or pedigree, and hence the books were already old. 3. The fathers were not all so uncritical and careless as is often supposed. If they noticed and took account of these minute differences, they would notice greater differences. If they noticed textual matters, they would notice those that had to do with the canon. When these same fathers

tell us, therefore, that Valentinus acknowledged all the canon which they used, their testimony is credible.

SECTION LII.

From two of the followers of Valentinus we have also fragments ascribed to them by name—namely, HERACLEON and PTOLEMÆUS. Heracleon, we are told by Origen, was said to be a “companion,” “intimate friend,” of Valentinus. If this be true, he must have written about 150. The other notices lead us to place him not more than ten or fifteen years later. Ptolemæus was his contemporary, and should be assigned to, from, say 160 to 170—at the latest; he is mentioned in the preface to Irenæus’ first book, as already the head of a school. It is reasonable to assign that writing to 175. Ptolemæus could not have begun less than ten years earlier; and probably began much earlier.

Heracleon wrote a commentary on part of the New Testament,—on how much of it we do not know. Origen quotes freely from the commentary on John;—Clement quotes a passage from a commentary on Luke. When a writing is commented on, and commented on as Heracleon commented on these books, with an anxious desire to make them accord with his teachings, it shows that the declarations of the book were esteemed authoritative, and, therefore, it was of importance to explain it in accordance with what was otherwise taught. It is to be noticed in Heracleon’s commentary, also, that it treats the Scripture as divine: that the slightest turns of language—the prepositions and the numbers—were held to be significant and important; and that the remarks of an Evangelist are treated with the same respect as the words of Christ. In other words, the fragment shows that he esteemed the Gospels just as we do now. Of the other books the fragments of Heracleon show allusions to Matthew, and the Epistles to the Romans, 1 Cor. and 2 Tim.

Of the writings of Ptolemæus, Epiphanius has preserved us a letter to “a sister,” Flora by name. In it he quotes several long passages from Matt., and also gives quotations from the prologue to St. John’s Gospel, from Rom., 1 Cor. and Eph. In other fragments preserved to us we find quotations from all four Gospels, Rom., 1 Cor., Gal., Eph. and Col.

SECTION LIII.

The remarkable allegorical book, called the SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, comes next under view. This book consists of a series of visions, mandates and similitudes, meant to teach Christian truth figuratively. In theology it is with some lapses from a strict orthodoxy, yet, in the main, true and catholic, thereby witnessing to our completed Scriptures. It is sometimes attributed to the Hermas mentioned by Paul in his Epistle to the Romans;—on no other ground, however, than the identity of the name. No father of the early centuries states that its authorship was such. Origen, indeed, says *he fancies (puto)* that the Hermas of Romans was the author; and Eusebius and Jerome tell us there was such a *report (phasin, asserunt)*; but no early writer states it as a fact. On the other hand, it is attributed directly to another Hermas. The fragment, which is called “the Muratori canon,” says: “but very lately, (*nuperrime*) *in our times*, Hermas composed ‘The Shepherd’ in the city of Rome, while Bishop Pius, his brother, sat in the chair of the Roman Church.” This is confirmed by two other witnesses. The witness, being contemporary, is weighty: and all internal considerations harmonize both with the time (140–150) * and place assigned in the notice. We may assume, therefore, its truth. The character of the writing is such as to forbid any direct allusions to the scriptures; and, consequently, we find that there is no direct quotation from either Testament. The allusions found are less striking, also, than those we have had to deal with heretofore; but we can make out the following with tolerable confidence: Hermas was evidently acquainted with some records of our Lord’s teaching, and our Gospels satisfy his references. He clearly refers to John’s Gospel; also to the Acts, I Cor., Eph., 1 Peter, 1 John, and probably to 2 Peter. His use of James and Rev. is beyond all doubt: whole sections are sometimes framed on their words. St. Paul’s teaching is clearly known and accepted; and this though the writer indicates some legalistic tendencies, which seem to have sprung from Judaistic influence. This fact refutes the idea that the author was an Ebionite. Whatever he was, he recognized Paul, and held to his great doctrine of “*Justification by Faith.*”

*It must be added, however, that both of the two latest writers on Hermas (Zahn and Salmon), place it in the first century, or at the opening of the second

SECTION LIV.

At this point ought to be introduced the testimony of that beautiful letter, addressed by the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium, soon after Polycarp's martyrdom (155), and giving an account of that event. Objections have been made to its authenticity, but as they proceed on no valid grounds, we may neglect them. The letter is largely taken up with drawing a parallel between our Lord's death and that of his faithful servant, Polycarp, suggested by several striking coincidences between them; and in the course of the narrative the Gospels of Matt. and John are clearly and repeatedly referred to. In addition, Acts, Romans and 1 Cor., are referred to.

SECTION LV.

We appeal next to the peculiar Ebionitish work, which goes under the name of CLEMENTINE HOMILIES. The date of this writing is in dispute; but it is generally referred to the middle of the second century. Heretical in its doctrine, it is not surprising that it has in it some apocryphal sayings, and refers to some apocryphal facts. But on that same account it is surprising that it gives such clear and full authentications to our four Gospels. Not only are there allusions to them all, but remarkably clear allusions to peculiar passages of each. Thus we find, amid the mass of references to Matt., no less than eighteen to peculiar and characteristic passages of Matt.; and, amid the allusions to Luke, at least six to passages found nowhere else than in Luke. Mark has extremely few peculiar passages, and yet one of them is quoted in these Homilies. There are also several marked references to John's Gospel. The same combining phenomena in quoting passages which occur in more than one Evangelist, which we have seen in Clement of Rome and Polycarp, are noticeable here again: showing that the Gospels existed together, and that instinctive harmonic attempts were being made. The full and clear allusions to Luke and John should be particularly noticed, as in an Ebionitish document they have special weight. To the other books of the New Testament there are no clear references, unless, indeed, the striking coincidence in language between a passage in the Homilies and a passage in 3 John, should be insisted on. If this reference be accepted,

it is the first we have had to this brief, personal letter. It is found in Clem. Hom. xvii:19: "Since, indeed, thou dost wish to be in very truth a fellow-worker with the truth," (*te aletheia sunergesai*)—cf. 3 John, 8.

SECTION LVI.

Our next witness is TATIAN. Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, and before his conversion a Sophist by profession. He became a pupil of Justin Martyr; but, some time after Justin's death, deserted the orthodoxy he had learned from him for the Encratite heresy. His date depends on Justin's; as we have seen that, in all probability, Justin's death is to be put in 148, we may assign Tatian's period of greatest activity to the time commencing with 150. He was dead when Irenaeus wrote his first book;—the close of his life falls, therefore, not much later than 170. He was a prolific writer, but there is left to us only his "Discourse to the Greeks," just exactly the one book, being an apology, in which we would expect no quotations. Tatian, we know, revered the Old Testament; and yet there is no citation of the Old Testament in this document; and only one anonymous quotation, which, moreover, there is some reason to believe, was not taken directly from the Old Testament, but through Heb. We could not expect many allusions to the New Testament, and yet we do find some striking ones. St. John's Gospel is plainly and indisputably quoted more than once. The most striking passages are a verbal quotation of part of Jno. iv, 24; a clear one of i., 5, introduced with the phrase so common in Luke in quoting Scripture—"that which was spoken"—and another of part of 1:5. Then, again, a parable found in Matt. is referred to; and there are other references which are probably to be taken as referring to Romans, 1 Cor., and Rev. Certain fragments from Tatian's other works give us references to 1 Cor., Gal., and Eph. And we know also from Jerome, that he held to Titus as a genuine work of Paul. It is stated, however, by Jerome, that he rejected some of Paul's Epistles; and by Eusebius, that he altered the expression in others, "correcting their style;"—the same charges, though in less degree, as were brought against Marcion. These mutilations are also to be accounted for, doubtless, on the same grounds. Tatian's heresy required it.

Tatian's greatest witness to our canon is, however, through

another work of his, now lost, which went under the name of *Diatessaron*, and which was indubitably a harmony of our four Gospels, (whence its name). The following are the notices which we have of it: 1. Eusebius tells us that "Tatian, having strangely put together a sort of combination and collection of the Gospels, named this the *Diatessaron*." He adds that the work was current in some quarters even in his day. Eusebius, then, evidently understood the work to have been *framed out of our Gospels*; and by piecing them together. Moreover, Eusebius tells us that Tatian himself named it "*Diatessaron*." Therefore, in the time of Tatian, our *four* Gospels were so held in the church, that an indefinite name like this—*Diatessaron*—could be counted on as not liable to *misunderstanding*. 2. Next, we are told by Bar-Salibi, that Ephraem Syrus wrote a commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and that it began with the opening words of John's Gospel. Moreover, the wording of this passage in Bar-Salibi is of such a character as to give us confidence in his knowledge of the facts. It is, as given by Bishop Lightfoot, as follows: "Tatian, the disciple of Justin, * * * selected and patched together, from the four Gospels, and constructed a Gospel which he called *Diatessaron*—that is, *Miscellanies*. On this work Mar-Ephrem wrote an exposition: and its commencement was, 'In the beginning was the Word.' " Then he proceeds to tell how Elias of Salonica was led to make a harmony after the manner of the *Diatessaron* of Ammonius, described in the prologue to the canons of Eusebius. Bar-Salibi evidently knows the difference between the two Harmonies of Tatian and Ammonius: that the former was a patchwork and the latter, really Matt.'s Gospel taken in order, with the parallels of the other Gospels exhibited throughout; and because he thus accurately knows the facts here, we can trust him for the further fact that Ephraem wrote a commentary, with Tatian's work as a base. Now, we know that Ephraem was orthodox, and received only our Gospels; that he made his commentary on Tatian's *Diatessaron*, proves, therefore, it was made up from our Gospels alone, which fact Bar-Salibi also states. Bar-Salibi also tells us that the harmony of Tatian began with the prologue to John's Gospel—which again shows it was our Gospels which were used in making it. What adds probability to this whole account, is the fact, which is witnessed by the Apocryphal Syriac book, "The Doctrine of

Addai," written in the third century, that the Diatessaron was in general use in the churches of Edessa—whence Ephraem wrote. Ephraem would be likely, therefore, to write his commentary on the Gospels in this form. 3. Next Theodoret (420) tells us that he found, when he became Bishop of Cyrrhus (near the Euphrates), above two hundred copies of this Diatessaron of Tatian in circulation in his Diocese; that they omitted "the genealogies, and such other passages as show the Lord to have been born of the seed of David after the flesh"; and that he substituted the Gospels for them. Theodoret evidently had the book before him; and it evidently was, according to his testimony, framed from our Gospels.*

The conflicting notices are these: 1. The statement by the notoriously inaccurate Epiphanius, that this Diatessaron was called by some, "The Gospel according to the Hebrews." But the man who could not give a correct list of the Roman Emperors, can hardly be expected to distinguish between the two books on the Gospel, in circulation among a people whose language he could not understand. 2. Bar-Hebraeus tells us that Ephraem commented on the Diatessaron of Ammonius. But Bar-Hebraeus got his information demonstrably from Bar-Salibi; and we have seen Bar-Salibi's own testimony, and consequently, know that Bar-Hebraeus misunderstood him. 3. Victor of Capua, in the middle of the sixth century, tells us that Eusebius says, that Tatian called his book Diapente, and skeptics have made much of this as showing that FIVE Gospels were admitted. *But* (A.) we have Eusebius, and he does not say "Diapente," but "Diatessaron"; and (B.) Victor did not understand him to say Diapente, for he himself explains it as meaning "ex quatuor." Diapente is, therefore, not Victor's word, but the mistake of some subsequent officious copyist. The evidence, therefore, is irresistible that the work of Tatian was a patchwork Gospel framed from our four, and winning its way, as Theodoret tells us, on account of its superior convenience. He knew it contained John's prologue; and since it was written after Tatian's lapse into heresy, it omitted certain parts of the Gospels as inconsistent with that heresy. It was, in the main, however, a fair harmony of our Gospels, and made its way even into the use of whole orthodox churches. Now, the bearing of this is: 1. In the time of Tatian our four Gospels had been so long accepted, and were held in such honor, that

*The Diatessaron of Tatian seems to have been lately recovered, and proves to be as here represented. See Mr. Wace's articles in *The Expositor* for 1881.

their organic unity was sought for and seen, and the attempt was made to exhibit it. 2. Orthodox and heretic alike, honored them. 3. So far as the Gospels are concerned, the canon was "fixed" and "closed." Tatian's younger contemporary, Irenæus, could, therefore, twenty years later, argue that there could not in the nature of the case have been more or less than these four Gospels. The position of Irenæus illustrates the action of Tatian, and gives its true meaning to his witness.

SECTION LVII.

And what Tatian proves for the Gospels, that MELITO proves for the whole canon. Melito was Bishop of Sardis in the middle of the second century. Eusebius gives us to understand that the "Apology" was the last of Melito's writings, and both ancient tradition and internal evidence place it at 170. This accords with the fact that Polycrates of Ephesus, *circa* A.D. 190, mentions him with, and among those great men of the past, who agreed with him in the Paschal controversy,—adding that he was then lying at rest in Sardis awaiting the resurrection; and also with the fact that Melito himself dates his treatise on the Paschal controversy at the time that Sergius Paulus was pro-consul of Asia, and we know now, through M. Waddington's investigations, that this was 164–166. The period of his greatest activity must have been, therefore, from 155–170. The large number of books which we know he wrote, on almost every subject of Christian thought, would seem to require a long period, so that he might have begun to write ten years earlier. He was, then, the younger contemporary of Papias and Polycarp, and the older contemporary of Irenæus. Of all his works, we have again by a singular fatality which seems to have attended nearly all the writers of this age, only that one wherein he could witness least to our Scriptures—his *Apology*—and that only in a Syriac translation. In this *Apology*, however, we can find proof that its author knew St. John's Gospel and the Epistles of James, and 1 Peter. A striking, but not certain coincidence of language with 2 Peter, is also contained in it. Several fragments of other works of his have come down to us, also, from which we can learn how the Christians spoke to one another, and how much more freely they drew out of the Scriptures, than when

they addressed the heathen. In one of these fragments he clearly refers to both John and Luke; in another to all four Gospels. An extract from this will show how full, both of scriptural phraseology and orthodox theology, a Christian theologian of the second century could be. It was the Lord Jesus Christ, he tells us, who "is the perfect Reason, the Word of God; who was begotten before the light; who was Creator together with the Father; who was the fashioner of Man; who was all in all; who was incarnate in the Virgin, who was born at Bethlehem, who was wrapped in swaddling clothes in the manger, who was seen of the Shepherds, who was glorified by the Angels, who was worshiped by the Magi, who was pointed out by John, who gathered together the Apostles, who preached the Kingdom, who healed the maimed, who gave light to the blind, who raised the dead, who appeared in the temple, who was not believed on by the people, who was betrayed by Judas, who was laid hold on by the Priests, who was condemned by Pilate, who was transfigured in the flesh, who was hanged on the tree, who was buried in the earth, who rose from the dead, who appeared to the Apostles, who ascended into heaven, who sitteth at the right hand of the Father; who is the rest of those that are departed, the recoverer of those that are lost, the light of those that are in darkness, the deliverer of those that are captives, the guide of those that have gone astray, the refuge of the afflicted, the bridegroom of the church, the charioteer of the cherubim, the captain of the angels; God who is of God, the Son who is of the Father; Jesus Christ, the King for ever and ever, Amen." If the man who wrote that, did not possess and esteem, as a divinely given word, the Scriptures of the New Testament, there seems to be no value in evidence. That Melito did possess a "*New Testament*," which he esteemed as equal to the "*Old Testament*," we know from another fragment, preserved to us by Eusebius (E. H. iv:26)—a fragment of the preface to his book of "*Selections*." The subject dealt with is only the Old Testament; but the *Old* is so spoken of as to imply a *New*. He writes to his friend Onesimus: "Since thou hast wished to learn accurately concerning the *old* books, how many they are in number, and what order they should hold, I have made haste to do this: * * having come, therefore, into the East, and being even in the place where these things were proclaimed

and done, and having learned accurately the books of the *Old* Testament, I have sent a list of them, of which these are the names: Five books of Moses:—Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, &c., &c.” Now this familiar speech of “the *Old Books*,” and “the books of the *Old Testament*,” implies “*New Books*,” and “books of the *New Testament*.” More than this, the words are so arranged in the Greek, that the emphasis is necessarily thrown, each time, on the word “*Old*,” and the phrases, therefore, both strongly and necessarily suggest the opposite, *New*. The sentences are so arranged, as to show that when Melito wrote “the *Old books*,” and “the books of the *Old Testament*,” he had in his mind as contradistinguished from them, the “*New books*,” and the “books of the *New Testament*.” Exactly what he meant by the phrase “the books of the *Old Covenant*,” is another question. Linguistically, *Diatheke* may mean the *contents, subject* of the books; and the phrase may then mean the books which contain the *Old Covenant*. Perhaps this is what Melito meant when he sent to Onesimus a list of the books containing the *Old Covenant*, as distinguished from those containing the *New*. In that case, the books of the *New Covenant*—and as a definite collection—are just as strongly witnessed to as on any other hypothesis. But all the evidence being taken into account, it is not certain but that we ought to believe that the phrase “*Old Testament*” had already hardened down into its present meaning of “the *books* constituting the *Old Covenant*”; and hence that the phrase “books of the *Old Testament*,” means here, “the books of that definite collection,” implying another definite collection called the *New Testament*. Certain it is, that scarcely thirty years later Tertullian, in distant North Africa, could so familiarly use the words; and it is not to be believed that the usage grew up with him. The point is, however, not worth contending for:—in either case Melito witnesses to a definite collection of books called “the books of the *Old Testament*,” in such a way as to imply another definite collection called “the books of the *New Testament*.” Whether these titles had already degenerated into mere titles in Melito’s time, or remained descriptive of the contents, is of no moment one way or the other. In either case Melito had such a definite collection, or “canon,” and the facts and doctrines he learned from it, were just those we now find in it.

SECTION LVIII.

While Melito was living and writing at Sardis, the neighboring See of Hierapolis was held by CLAUDIUS APOLINARIS, who also addressed an Apology to Marcus Aurelius, about 175. Slightly younger than Melito, he rivaled him in the voluminousness of his writings. Of all that he wrote, however, we possess but three short fragments, amounting in all to about twenty lines. In one he clearly refers to John's Gospel, calls Matt.'s by name, and familiarly speaks of "The Gospels." In another, he unequivocally quotes John, and the parable of the strong man bound, which is found in the Synoptics.

SECTION LIX.

That the conclusion to which we have come, as to the estimation of the New Testament which this age held, are true and sure, we have the witness of the fragment, called usually from the name of its discoverer, the "MURATORI CANON." This is a remarkable Latin fragment torn from its context, full of barbarisms in language, and evidently a clumsy translation from the Greek. It seems to be Roman in origin, and professes to have been written by a contemporary of the Roman Bishop, Pius, and all its internal characteristics harmonize with the claim. It cannot have been composed, therefore, much later than 170. Although a list of New Testament books, the primary object of the writing does not seem to have been historical; but it rather has the appearance of being an excerpt from a controversial writing against heretics. Its witness goes to prove absolutely the possession of the New Testament as a definite and honored collection at this early date. The fragment begins abruptly with the last half of a sentence evidently referring to St. Mark: "At which, however, he was present, and so he set them down." "The *third* book of the Gospel," it immediately proceeds, "that according to Luke, Luke, the physician, wrote after the ascension of Chsist, in his own name, and to the best of his judgment, when Paul had taken him as a second, on account of his zeal for righteousness. Nevertheless, neither did he see the Lord in the flesh; and (so he wrote) so far as he was able to ascertain, (or with Lightfoot's fine emendation: "and he too set down incidents as he was able to ascertain them.") So, also, he began his

narrative from the birth of John. The *fourth* Gospel is John's—one of the disciples, &c., &c."—going on to give the circumstances under which John wrote. As Credner admits, it is mere folly and despair which could venture to deny that the first and second Gospels of this fragment, corresponding to the third and fourth above, were our Gospels of Matt. and Mark; and thus we find our four Gospels fully authenticated. Between the above, and a direct quotation of 1 John 1, sq., brought in as if it was attached to, and almost formed a part of John's Gospel, we read farther: "And, therefore, although various elements are taught in the several books of the Gospels, it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since all things in them all are declared by a *single and supreme Spirit*, concerning the birth, passion, resurrection, conversation with his disciples, and his double advent, the first, in despised humanity, which has been; the second, glorious, with kingly power, which is yet to be." No theologian of our own day could more clearly express the inspiration of the Gospels, than this writer has in the use of these words: "All things in them all are declared by a single and supreme Spirit." The fragment then goes on to speak of Acts, which it ascribes to Luke, and then names the thirteen Epistles of Paul, ascribing them expressly to him; and comparing the fact that seven churches are addressed in them, to the seven churches addressed by "John in the Apocalypse." It then turns aside to condemn two Epistles to the Laodiceans and to the Alexandrians, which had been forged in the name of Paul, together with others not named, and returns again to speak of Jude, and two Epistles of John, (probably 2d and 3d, as 1st had been already mentioned) as received "into the Catholic (church)," or "among the Catholic (Epistles)," according to the noun supplied, (probably, however, the first, as "Catholica" is singular). Next it states: "We receive also only the Apocalypses of John and Peter," but adds, that some of "our number" do not accept the last. Then it once more branches off to condemn the Shepherd of Hermas, etc., as apocryphal, and breaks off suddenly in the midst of a sentence. Besides being thus mutilated, there are evident marks of chasms in the document itself, and therefore we can lay no stress on its omission of some of our books—especially since some of these omissions are of books known otherwise to have been accepted in Rome at the time. We

must remember, however, that the only omissions are James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Hebrews,—Matt. and Mark having certainly been the first and second of the books of which Luke and John are counted third and fourth. In spite of the fragmentary character of the document, therefore, all of our books are expressly named in it, except these three brief letters—James, 1 and 2 Peter, and the one important book of Hebrews; and those that are named are so mentioned as to lead us to understand that they were both generally received, (in Catholicam Ecclesiam), and received as divine (uno ac principali Spiritu declarata). In other words, the church of 170 held the same New Testament, in the same honor, as the church of 1881.

SECTION LX.

Such is the witness of the Western Church. If we turn again to the East, we will find THEOPHILUS, sixth Bishop of Antioch, in the time of Marcus Aurelius—presumably from 168 to 182—speaking in the same way. With him the New Testament is like the Old Testament, *inspired by the one Spirit of God*. Thus, he declares that the declarations of the Prophets and Gospels concerning righteousness, are like those contained in the law, “because that they all spake as inspired by the one Spirit of God.” In another passage he writes: “Whence the Holy Scriptures, and all the inspired men teach us, one of whom, John, says, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the word was with God, etc.’” A passage from St. Mark is quoted, also, as “the Evangelic voice”; and Romans, 1 and 2 Cor., Eph., Phil., 1 Tim. and Titus, are unmistakably referred to. Eusebius tells us that he used the Apocalypse; and we find also most probable allusions to Col., Heb., 1 Peter, and a, to say the least, probable reference to 2 Peter i:19. All the allusions are found, it must be remembered, in the one work by Theophilus, which has come down to us; and that is an *Apology*! Being addressed, however, to an individual, and to the Emperor, it gave some further scope for reference than was usual in such works. To that fact alone, doubtless, we owe our knowledge that Theophilus held the New Testament to be inspired like the Old by the *one Spirit of God*.

SECTION LXI.

If more evidence of the same character is desired, we may have it from **DIONYSIUS**, of Corinth, who held the chair of Bishop in that city from the death of Justin (148) to about 176. He was, therefore, an older contemporary of Theophilus. He, in zeal for orthodoxy, wrote many letters to the neighboring churches, and a fragment from Dionysius concerning these letters is preserved to us by Eusebius, and reads as follows: "When brethren urged me to write letters, I wrote them, and these the Apostles of the Devil have filled with tares, having on the one hand taken away some things (which I wrote), and on the other added some (to what I wrote), for whom the woe is appointed. It is not wonderful, then, if some have attempted to treat the Scriptures of the Lord recklessly, (or as Westcott, "to adulterate them"), since they have deigned (to corrupt) those not such, (and therefore of less importance)." From this passage it is plain that Dionysius too held a "Canon" of the New Testament, which he called "*The Dominical Scriptures*," which he held to be divine, and which he charged others with having corrupted. Eusebius opens up to us the meaning of this last, by remarking that Dionysius fought against the heresy of *Marcion*, and defended the "Canon of Truth." The calling of this "rule of truth" "*The Dominical Scriptures*," marks it as a divine collection. In the fragment above, you will notice an allusion to Matt., and another to Rev.; and in another fragment he uses the language of a passage of 1 Thes.

SECTION LXII.

Just five lines of a reply to one of Dionysius' letters have been preserved to us by Eusebius. It is by **PINITUS**, Bishop of Gnossus, and, as Dr. Westcott well remarks, serves to show that the familiar use of Apostolic language, was characteristic of the age, not of the man. "The whole passage is built out of the Epistle to the Hebrews"; and Eusebius adds, that in the whole Epistle the correct and orthodox views are imaged forth.

SECTION LXIII.

Dionysius spoke, as we have seen, of the New Testament as the "*Dominical Scriptures*." Our next witness, **HEGESIPPUS**, calls them the "*Divine Scriptures*," and thus fairly closes the

series of testimonies which we have to bring. Hegesippus seems to have flourished from 157 to 176, and later, and was a man held in much esteem in the church. Though of Hebrew descent, and of deep Jewish sympathies, he yet was wholly free from Judaizing heresy. Eusebius, over and over again testifies to his strict orthodoxy, classing him with such men as Dionysius, Pinitus, Apolinaris, Melito, and Irenæus, as having handed down in his writings "the orthodoxy of sound faith, derived from the apostolic tradition." (xxi.) In another place he describes him as "having recorded the unerring tradition of the apostolic preaching." (viii.) Hegesippus himself witnesses to his orthodoxy by calling attention to the fact that the churches through which he passed on his way to Rome, all held the same faith with himself. "In every succession," he says, "and in every city, it is just as the law, the prophets, and the Lord preach." In Corinth, too, he found the true faith, and Clement's Epistle representing it. Now all this shows beyond a peradventure that Hegesippus was an orthodox Christian, and no Ebionite. The mention of Clement's Epistle, carries Paul's Epistles along with it, and disproves any Ebionite tendency. Hegesippus' testimony, then, comes to us as the testimony of an orthodox Christian of his time; and his phrase "the divine Scriptures," covers all those New Testament books which the orthodox Christians of his day accepted, and what they were we have by this time seen. The fragment in which it occurs—for we have nothing but fragments of Hegesippus, and his great theologic-historical work in five books is lost to us—is, curiously enough, one of the mainstays of the Tuebingen School, in their attempt to make him, against his own demur-
rer, an Ebionite. It is preserved to us imbedded in a fragment of Stephen Gobarus, of the sixth century, which is again preserved by Photius, of the ninth century. Gobarus states that Hegesippus asserts, that those who used the phrase, "Eye hath not seen, etc," (as in 1 Cor. ii:9), give the lie to the sacred writings, and to our Lord himself, who said, "Blessed are your eyes that see, and your ears that hear, etc." The passage being given by Gobarus in the oblique form, the phraseology is in all probability to be ascribed to Hegesippus himself. Now the Tuebingen writers say Paul quotes this passage from Isaiah in 1 Cor. ii:9; therefore, Hegesippus, Ebionite-like, is directly opposing Paul. What renders this little theory un-

tenable, is that Paul and Hegesippus agree in their method of treating this very passage. Paul, indeed, quotes it, but only to show the difference between the privileges of those to whom Isaiah spoke, and of those to whom he writes ;—adding immediately after it, “But God hath revealed them *unto us*, etc !” Hegesippus but follows Paul, and his opponents were those Gnostics who, as we learn from Hippolytus, made use of this phrase from Isaiah in defense of their heresy ; Hegesippus says it is no longer valid in these N. T. times. The argument points, therefore, the other way. Hegesippus thus probably owed his method of meeting these heretics, to the way in which Paul had dealt with the same passge. We know he knew 1 Cor., for he mentions the Epistle of Clement, and that Epistle calls particular attention to Paul’s first letter to the Cor.

The other argument to prove Ebionitism in Hegesippus, is that Eusebius does not say that he accepted Paul’s writings. But 1. the silence of Eusebius has been already dealt with, and shown to imply nothing adverse here, but rather the reverse. 2. Eusebius’ testimony to his orthodoxy includes testimony to his acceptance of Paulinism. Again, it is said that Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, used the Gospel according to the Hebrews; and this, it is attempted to imply, was his sole evangelical source—hence he was an Ebionite. But 1. Eusebius does indeed state that he used this Gospel, but in such terms as to imply that he used it sparingly, and not as his only source:—“He used it somewhat,” is a fair translation of what he says. 2. The mode of procedure of Eusebius required him to mention every apocryphal book used, and hence we know this was the *only* one he used. 3. A historian like Hegesippus would be likely to search up and use every document which seemed likely to give him any *truth*, without regard to its character as *inspired*. His use of it does not prove he held it as inspired, therefore. We have used testimony from heretics in these lectures: are we, therefore, heretics? 4. Eusebius implies that he rejected the Apocrypha, saying in another passage that “when determining concerning the books called Apocrypha, he records that some of them were forged in his own time by certain heretics.” Now, it would be opposed to Eusebius’ mode of procedure and uniform practice—if Hegesippus accepted the apocryphal book of the Gospel according to the Hebrews—for Eusebius not to have mentioned it here. Hegesippus, therefore, rejected that book. 5. The mea-

gre fragments which have come down to us suffice to show us that he did use our Gospels. We find in them several plain allusions to Matt., Luke, and one possible one to John; he also refers to the Acts. We may conclude then, without hesitation, that the careful Eusebius, and Hegesippus himself, are right when they testify that he was orthodox, and that therefore when he speaks of the "Divine Scriptures," he witnesses to the estimation in which he and the church of his day held that collection of Scriptures which the Muratori Canon enumerates, and which his younger contemporary, Irenæus, pleads for those Scriptures, in a word, which make up the New Testament in our hands to-day.

SECTION LXIV.

With this testimony we may fitly close this period. Other testimony, and that not unabundant, exists; but, in the face of the fulness of the proof already given, it is hardly necessary to cite it. Thus the Apologist, Athenagoras, writing in 177, uses Matt., John, Rom., 1 Cor. and Gal. The Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons, written in 177, refers to Luke, John, Rom., Cor., 1 Tim. and 1 John. And even the heathen, Celsus, not long afterward betrays a knowledge of the Gospels. We need not, however, attempt to add to the fulness of the testimony borne for this fourth quarter of the century, by such men as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. Suffice it to say, that their contemporaries bear witness, each in his own measure, to the same facts which they authenticate. They all have evidently one God, one Lord, one Canon of Scripture-truth; and all three alike they inherited from the men whose testimony we have been examining, stretching back to unite with that of the contemporaries of the Apostles.

SECTION LXV.

In summing up the results of this period of Apologists, or of fragments, I would draw your attention to the following remarks:—

1st. It is to be carefully observed that the evidence is fragmentary;—the proofs which we have brought forward are gathered from a series of some 25 or 26 sets of brief and accidentally preserved fragments, the most of them from works of such character as excluded direct appeals to the Scriptures.

2d. And yet the evidence of all these fragments, gathered from all kinds of sources and pieced together, is *thoroughly consistent*. They witness to exactly the same set of books. Of all the orthodox writers, fragments of whose writings we have examined, only one would admit an apochryphal book to the canon of Scripture, and in that case it is frankly told us that some of the Christians rejected it. With this one doubtful exception from the Canon of Muratori, these fragments, one and all, witness to exactly the same set of books. Now this of itself shows that what they witness to is not individual opinion, but universal conviction.

3d. And this becomes more plain when we notice that the witness comes from the whole church. Every corner of it well nigh is represented, North Africa, so lately Christianized, alone excepted. And if we doubt whether its testimony would be accordant, we have only to turn to Tertullian—the first Christian North African writer—in the immediately succeeding age, to have our doubts removed. The whole church, then, is represented in these fragments.

4th. The witness, too, covers the whole canon as we now possess it. Counting the Peratici and Sethiani as one; Ptolemaeus and Heracleon as one; and Dionysius and Pinitus as one; we have 23 authorities. Neglecting now reasonably doubtful references, the various books of the New Testament can claim each the following number of witnesses out of the 23, viz :

Matthew,	.	.	21	2 Thes.,	.	.	3
Mark,	.	.	10	1 Tim.,	.	.	5
Luke,	.	.	16	2 Tim.,	.	.	2
John,	.	.	19	Titus,	.	.	3
Acts,	.	.	6	Philemon,	.	.	1
Romans,	.	.	11	Hebrews,	.	.	6
1 Corinthians,	.	.	18	James,	.	.	2
2 Corinthians,	.	.	7	1 Peter,	.	.	5
Galations,	.	.	9	2 Peter,	.	.	3
Ephesians,	.	.	10	1 John,	.	.	5
Philippians,	.	.	5	2 John,	.	.	1
Colossians,	.	.	7	Jude,	.	.	1
1 Thes.,	.	.	3	Rev.,	.	.	7

In other words, all except 3 John have indisputable refer-

ences, and 3 John has one probable, almost certain, one, (the Muratori Canon), and one more doubtful.

5th. Notice again that these books are not only witnessed to separately, but collectively; the witness goes to prove absolutely that throughout this period the Church possessed these books collected into a canon. Throughont our inquiry—in the cases of Papias, and Justin, and Marcion, and Valentinus, and Tatian, and Milito, and Apolinaris, and Theophilus, and the Muratori Canon, &c., &c.—we have been unable to resist the proof accumulating on us that from the beginning of the period the Church possessed her books collected and held in the form of a “Canon.”

6. Then, sixthly, we have found that this collection was esteemed as of equal authority with the Old Teseament—as, in fact, the divinely inspired Word of God. At least seven of the books are called “Scripture” in quoting them, and others are quoted with St. Luke’s favorite formula in quoting Scripture, viz.: “that which was spoken”; and others again with “that which is said”; and other equivalents. All are quoted and treated with respect. Time and again we have seen the Scriptures of the New Testament, under various names, united with the Old, as constituting the Scriptures; we have seen them called both Dominical and Divine Scriptures;—in a word, we have seen them witnessed to in well nigh every way conceivable, as the books inspired by God’s Spirit; it is even stated in so many words, that they were dictated by the One Divine Spirit, together with, and alike with, the Law and the Prophets. The proof could hardly be made in the same compass fuller, more complete or more convincing, than we have it in these fragments, and yet remain natural. And they therefore well stand between such testimony as we have seen was borne by the Apostolical Fathers and that borne by the age of Irenæus. In a word, it is made out fully that the Christians of the age stretching between 120 and 175 possessed the same New Testament that we possess, and in the same form; held it in the same honor, and treated it with the same respect; as the inspired Word of God, equal in divinity and authority to the Scriptures of the Old Testament. If the historical authenticity of our Canon is to be denied, it must be done at the expense of all of our historical sources; at the expense of the falsification of history herself; at the expense of the destruction of the

grounds of all historic inquiry. Alike by each of the three ages into which the second century may be divided is the Canon of the New Testament, as we have it, authenticated fully and unquestionably. Each age independently authenticates it. Taken together, they found it so securely on the rock of truth that it is difficult to conceive it ever shaken.

SECTION LXVI.

Here then we may fitly pause. We have brought our survey of the canon up to the date of Irenæus' ascension to the episcopate of Lyons and Vienne. From that time on it is admitted on all sides that our canon has been generally received in the church. Let it not be thought, however, that we have exhausted all the evidence for the earlier history of the canon in our cursory view of it. As a mere example the whole mass of evidence derivable from the Apocryphal books, each of which implies the previous existence of parts of our canon, has been left untouched. Other mines also have been left unworked. Probably enough has been said, however, for our present purposes;—certainly enough has been brought forward to authenticate our canon to any reasonable mind, and enough to show the vast cumulative force of the evidence. One mention of Matthew in these ages would prove the prior existence of his Gospel; we have over 50 of them, and so on. If we never forget that evidence arising from natural quotation is both retrospective and cumulative, we shall never lose the force of the proof which we have been examining. To change the facts, to reconstruct the history of these ages on theory and with the utter rejection of all historical remains, is the only way in which we can get rid of the proofs. As long as truth remains truth, however, and as long as history seems to men best wrought out when founded on facts and not on fancies, so long we need not fear the attacks on the history of our Canon by those who, with a knowledge falsely so-called, work on the basis of preconceived theories of philosophy, and not on the fragments preserved to us from the times themselves. The testimony of these fragments is that our Canon was even then held to be a Divine collection of books received from the hands of the Apostles. If this is inconsistent with a pantheistic or a materialistic philosophy, let

us explain away the philosophy and not the historically authenticated fragments. Historical facts are part of the phenomena of the universe, which any theory of the universe must explain or perish. Shall we adjust the facts to the theory or theory to the facts? That is the single question which clamors for answer when we consider any theory which denies that the church held the New Testament as a divinely authoritative collection of books from the beginning.







[*From the Southern Presbyterian Review, January, 1882.*]

THE CANONICITY OF SECOND PETER.

The question which we propose is a purely historical one. The Canon of the New Testament is a definite collection of books; 2 Peter is found to occupy a place in it. The question is, Was it always there, or has it been foisted unrighteously into a place to which it has no claim? This is a historical question, and is to be settled on appropriate historical evidence. It is a question, however, of vast dogmatic interest. Perhaps it may be said that the settlement of it means the settlement of the Canon. It is admitted on all hands that the evidence for the canonicity of 2 Peter is less cogent than that for any other New Testament book, —not, perhaps, less in amount (2 John and Philemon have less), but less proportionately to its length and importance. If the evidence for 2 Peter can be shown to be sufficient and convincing, therefore, the greater evidence capable of being adduced for the other books will be readily seen to be of overwhelming power. It is thus of especial importance that we examine with particular care the testimony for it, both that we may hold correct opinions as to its own authority, and that we may obtain a practical standard by which to estimate the strength of the evidence for the other books.

It is essential to the canonicity of a New Testament book that it should have been given to the Church by the apostles as of divine authority. But we cannot at this day hear the apostolic voice in its authorisation. Beyond what witness one apostolic book was to bear to another—as Paul in 1 Tim. v. 18 authenticates Luke—and what witness an apostolic book may bear to itself, we cannot appeal at this day to immediate apostolic authorisation. In the case of 2 Peter the first of these testimonies fails, and the second is not of itself and by itself sufficient to satisfy doubt, but only when connected with some external presumption that the Epistle may be what it asserts. We have no resource, then, but to seek to resolve the question of its apostolic gift to the church indirectly. To do this we must make two queries: Is

the letter old enough to have been written by an apostle? Has the Church from its beginning held it as a part of the authoritative rule of faith? If these two questions are answered in the affirmative, the presumption is overwhelming that the Church thus from the apostolic age held it to be divine only because it had received it from the apostles as divine. If the internal evidence is found to corroborate this, and no adequate rebutting evidence is produced, the position of the Epistle in the Canon will be seen to be so secure that it will amount to self-stultification to oppose it.

I. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE EARLY DATE OF II. PETER.

It is admitted on all hands that the veritable 2 Peter which we now have, was, at the opening of the third century, in the hands of ORIGEN. This, indeed, is reiteratedly plain. He not only quotes its words, but he quotes them as Peter's,¹ and as Scripture,² he distinguishes it from 1 Peter³ and combines it as equally Peter's with the first Epistle;⁴ he clearly and distinctly names both together.⁵ Although, therefore, he mentions the fact that there were some doubts abroad with reference to the Epistle's genuineness, the way in which Origen speaks of the letter and uses it clearly indicates this fact—that it was generally received at this time as Peter's and Scripture. Now, it is not possible to believe that a book so dealt with by Origen was manufactured or first became widely known in his own day. We would *a priori* expect his older contemporary and preceptor, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, to have also known it. We are consequently not surprised to find that this was the fact. Eusebius⁶ tells us that "Clement, in his 'Out-

¹Comm. in Ep. Ro. (Migne, IV., 1179): "Et Petrus in epistola sua dicit (2 P. i. 2.)."

²In Numer. Hom. (II., 676): "Et ut ait quodam in loco scriptura (2 P. ii. 16)."

³Comm. in Matt., T. 15 (III., 1333): "Από τε τῆς πρῶτης ἐπιστολῆς (1 P. 1. 8)."

⁴Add to ² above: "Et iterum alibi (1 P. iv. 10)."

⁵Eus. H. E., VI., 25: "Peter left behind one Epistle that is ὁμολογονμένην· ἐστω δὲ καὶ δεύτερην ἀμαβάλλεται γαρ. So also in *Lib. Jesu*, Nov. Hom., 8 (Migne II., 857).

⁶H. E., VI., 14.

lines,' has given, to speak generally, concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures without omitting the disputed books—I mean the Epistle of Jude, and the other catholic Epistles; as well as the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called *Revélation* of Peter." This testimony is supported by Cassiodorus¹ and Photius.² It may, therefore, be accepted as indubitable and the conclusion drawn confidently that Clement had our 2 Peter probably (or, rather, according to Eusebius, certainly) among the Scriptures, and that he even wrote a commentary on it.

The mass of modern critics would have us believe that this is as far as we can go, and that Clement marks the earliest trace of our Epistle. So Credner and Hilgenfeld expressly, while Bleek and Reuss would go farther and throw doubt even on Clement's testimony, and even such men as Alford and Westcott are in uncertainty. Hence Credner can assign its origin, at the earliest, to the beginning of the second century, and Hilgenfeld, at the earliest, to its middle; while Bleek wavers between the two opinions, although inclining to the former. That the later date, as assigned by Hilgenfeld and the majority of his school, is untenable, however, is abundantly evident from the data already before us. The basis of the opinion is simply the asserted silence of earlier writers; but the precariousness of the argument from silence may be learned from Clement of Alexandria himself. He possessed the letter and wrote a commentary on it—the proof of this is irrefragable; and yet no mention of it, no evidence of his knowledge of it at all secure,³ can be found in any of his extant

¹ *Institutio Divinarum Scripturarum*, *pref.* (Cf. c. 8., which must be explained by *pref.*)

² Bibl. Cod. 109. He calls the Hypotyposes (or "Outlines") of Clement: Expositions τοῦ θείου Πανλοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. All sorts of conjectures have been hazarded to explain this last term; plainly it includes the Epistle of Barnabas and *Revelation* of Peter given in Eusebius's statement. May it be simply a scribe's error for τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, meaning "the ecclesiastical books" in Rufinus's sense?

³ The passage often adduced: *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 66, ed. Sylb., would be a most probable reference, except that it occurs also in Clement of Rome, whence Clement of Alexandria, who used freely the works of his namesake, may have obtained it. See below (the passage adduced from Clement Ro. XXXV., 5).

writings. This should teach us a lesson as to the value of the argument from silence. On the other hand, it is impossible to square the mere fact that Clement has written a commentary on Second Peter—a book bearing the name of Peter and hence either considered genuine by him, or else a malicious forgery—with the assertion that it was first published during Clement's own life-time. We may go still farther. The usage of the book by Origen is of such a character as, taken in connection with the fact of Clement's commenting on it, to exhibit it as a part of Clement's Canon of Scripture. The farther evidence in the case points to the same conclusion. But Clement's Canon was not a private collection, but the same that was held by the whole Church; and the mere fact that the book formed a part of the Church Canon of the later part of the second century throws a strong probability on the supposition that it had always been part of it, and hence was as old as the apostolic age. To feel this we have only to listen to Clement's professions. He declares that he had travelled far and sat under many teachers of many names, and he holds only those books which he had found everywhere clung to as those which had come down from the apostles. If we had no further evidence than Clement's, therefore, a probability of the apostolical origin of 2 Peter would already exist, such as would require some weighty evidence to overturn. The burden of proof would certainly rest on those who denied its canonicity.

The question still remains, however, whether the assertion is true that there is no earlier evidence than Clement's for 2 Peter. Reuss hints that "Apologists" have gone so far in seeking older witnesses as, in reality, to refer any trace of Christianity in the second century to this Epistle, as if "that century could have obtained Christianity from no other source than 2 Peter." How far this sarcasm is deserved may be best determined by examining the parallels actually adduced by "Apologists."

We begin, then, with IRENÆUS, an older contemporary of Clement's. In the third book (chapter 1) of his great work against Heresies, we meet with the first seeming allusion. Peter (2 Peter i. 15) had spoken of something that he intended to have done *μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον*. Irenæus, speaking of *Peter* and

Paul, remarks on what happened *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοντῶν ἔξοδον*. Now this is a very unusual expression, and in Irenæus' mouth it has been repeatedly misunderstood. Does it not seem to have been suggested by Peter's words? Reading further, we come in the fourth book (chapter xxxvi. 4) to another passage in which he adduces Neah, then Sodom and Gomorrah, and Lot, to show that God will punish the wicked and save the holy. Our minds go immediately to 2 Peter ii. 4-7, whence the framing of this passage seems to have been derived. Already a presumption for Irenæus's use of our epistle is raised. This is lifted to an exceedingly high degree when we read his fifth book (chapter xxviii. 3) and read that the world shall last a thousand years for every day consumed in its creation—*ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χῖλια ἔτη*—a passage which irresistibly suggests 2 P. iii. 8. There the creation of the world had been discoursed upon (v. 5), and its destruction (v. 6 and 7); *ὅτι μία ἡμέρα παρὰ Κυρίῳ ὡς χῖλια ἔτη*. We are told, indeed, that the resemblance is due not to dependence of one upon the other, but a mutual dependence on Ps. xc. 4. But Ps. xc. 4 reads: *ὅτι χῖλια ἔτη ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ὡς ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἐχθρὸς ἡτοι ὀτῆλθε*, which presents a very diverse, not to say directly opposite thought. The passage in 2 Peter depends on this Psalm and the next clause to that quoted above becomes a quotation from the Psalm. But Irenæus's statement follows, not the Psalm nor Peter's quotation from the Psalm, but Peter's *inference* from the Psalm, and that almost verbally; and it seems morally certain that it must have come, directly or indirectly, from 2 Peter. The argument is strengthened by the fact that in V. 23, 2, Irenæus repeats the same statement, and as coming from a respected source. It seems clear that we are justified in modestly asserting that the probability that Irenæus possessed 2 Peter amounts to a moral certainty.

It is, indeed, replied that a phrase which occurs in IV. 9, 2, where Irenæus quotes 1 Peter with the formula: “*Petrus ait in epistola sua*,” excludes any knowledge on the part of the writer of a 2 Peter also. We may waive any question of the genuineness of the words, and answer simply that this may be a very convincing argument against Irenæus's care and scholarly accuracy in

distinguishing the special epistle he meant, but it cannot disprove his knowledge of an epistle which he has elsewhere quoted. It may be astounding to the critics, and yet it is true, that just such a loose method of quoting was most common in Irenæus's day. Irenæus certainly knew 2 John—he quotes it explicitly and by name (I. 16, 3, and III. 16, 8)—and yet he quotes 1 John (III. 16, 5 and 8) just as he quotes 1 Peter (*in epistola sua, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστολῇ*). Shall we say that this excludes the knowledge of 2 John? Then again, Cyprian quotes 1 Peter after the same fashion, and yet his correspondent, Firmilian, has no difficulty in quoting 2 Peter in a letter to him. Did these two old hob-nobbing bishops possess distinct and different canons? Still again, at the seventh Council of Carthage, at which Cyprian was present, one bishop is found quoting 1 John as "his epistle," and immediately afterwards Aurelius is represented as quoting 2 John after the same fashion: "*Johannes apostolus in epistola sua poscit, dicens,*" (2 John x. 11), so that it appears that not only 1 John but 2 John also, and both together at the same time and place, could be cited in these obnoxious words. Other evidence of the same kind is abundant; but we need only adduce further a clinching fact from Origen, who is able to quote both 1 Peter and 2 Peter with the same formula, as may be seen by referring to the first quotation given from him at the beginning of this paper. The fact is, these ancient brethren were very much like us moderns, and used very free and general forms of speech. Certainly no argument from Irenæus's use of the phrase can be drawn to weaken the evidence for his knowledge of 2 Peter.

Going a few years further back into the second century, we find a passage in the writings of THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH which bears all the appearance of being a reminiscence from 2 Peter. We do not refer to *Ad Autolycum*, II. 9, which is usually quoted as parallel to 2 Peter i. 21, but to the following passage from *Ad Autolyc.*, II. 13: "The διάταξις of God, therefore—this is *his word*, φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκίματι συνεχομένῳ, ἐφωτισεν τὴν ὑπ' οὐρανὸν." The resemblance of this to 2 Peter i. 19 is too great to be overlooked, and cannot be wholly vitiated by an appeal to 4 Esdras xii. 42 (*tu enim nobis superasti ex omnibus prophetis—sicut*

lucerna in loco obscuro). We may at least claim that we have here a probable reference.

In some writings of a still older contemporary of Irenæus, MELITO OF SARDIS, preserved to us in a Syriae translation, we meet with a striking passage which seems to show dependence on 2 Peter iii. 5-7 and 10-12. In the translation of Dr. Westcott¹ it runs as follows: "There was a flood of waters. . . . So also shall it be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up together with its mountains, and men shall be burnt up together with their idols which they have made and the graven images which they have worshipped; and the sea together with its isles shall be burnt up; and the just shall be delivered from the fury like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the deluge." Perhaps it is within the bounds of moderation to hold that this *probably* is a reminiscence of 2 Peter.

During the period which stretches back between Melito and A. D. 120, we find parallels between 2 Peter and three writers: Hermas, Justin, and Pseudo-Clement. That from 2 Clement, however, is scarcely worth pleading (2 Clem. xvi. 3, and 2 P. iii. 7); at best this may possibly depend on that. Those from HERMAS are much more striking and are certainly sufficient to raise a very strong presumption that Hermas had 2 Peter. They are three: Vis. iv. 3, 4, "Ye who have escaped from this world," Compare 2 Peter ii. 20; Vis. iii. 7, 1, "abandoned the true way." Compare 2 Peter ii. 15 (ii. 2); and much more important, Simil. vi. 4, last part: *τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τὰ ἀπατῆς ὁ χρόνος ὡρα ἐστὸν μία τῆς ἐξ βασάνου ὥραι τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν δύναμιν ἔχονσαι. Ἐὰν οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν τις τρυφῆσῃ καὶ ἀπατηθῇ.* Compare 2 Peter ii. 13: *τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφῆν.* *ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις αἰτῶν.* Much stronger still are those urged from JUSTIN. In Dial. c. 81, we read: *Συνήκαμεν καὶ τὸ εἰρήμενον ὅπις Ἡμέρα Κυρίου ὡς χίλια ἔτη, εἰς τοῦτο συνάγειν,* which, like the parallel passage in Irenæus, must be assigned to 2 Peter iii. 8 as its source. Again in Dial. c. 82, we read: "In the same manner also as there were *ψευδοπροφῆται* among the holy prophets that were with you, so also among us now are also many *ψευδοδιάσκαλοι*, of whom our Lord forewarned us." But where can this forewarning be found?

¹ *On the Canon*, 3d Ed., p. 202, note 2.

Does it exist anywhere but in 2 Pet. ii. 1 (*cf.* i. 21): "But there were ψευδοπροφῆται among the people, as also among you shall be ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι, who shall subintroduce damnable heresies"? It is exceedingly difficult to see how there can be any reasonable doubt but that these passages are drawn from 2 Peter. And if so, it is noticeable that Justin refers to 2 Peter with respect, as Scripture, as, practically, the words of the Lord—in a word, as an authoritative book giving the Lord's teaching. All that was said above about the value of Clement's testimony may, therefore, be transferred now to Justin's, with this difference, that the period now before us is the years before A. D. 147, instead of after 195. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we find testimonies for 2 Peter in the next earlier age.

From this next age—called the sub-apostolic, because the next succeeding to that in which the Apostles lived—and stretching from the apostolic age to A. D. 120, parallels have been adduced with 2 Peter from the Testaments of the twelve Patriarchs, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Clement of Rome. That from Polycarp (iii. 2, with 2 P. iii. 15, 16,) may be passed over as only possibly derived from 2 Peter. Those from the TEST. XII. PATT. are more striking and render it probable that the author had and used 2 Peter. They are such as the very rare phrase *μασμοῖς* [Oxford MS.—*μιάσμασι*] *τῆς γῆς* in Benj. 8, *cf.* 2 P. ii. 20—a phrase found in 2 Peter only in the New Testament and in the Test. XII. Patt., only in its age; the rare phrase *τοῦ πλάττειν λόγους* in Reuben 3, which seems to have been suggested by 2 P. ii. 3; the use of *τίπειν* in Reuben 5, just as it is used in 2 P. ii. 9, and some peculiarities of vocabulary common to the two writings; all of which combined raise a probability of some force of dependence on 2 Peter.¹

The parallel with BARNABAS seems decisive as to the earlier existence of 2 Peter; and it is difficult to see how assent can be withheld from the statement, that we have here a plain reference to 2 Peter. We read in Barn. xv. 4: *ἴ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη, αὐτὸς δὲ μοι μαρτυρεῖ λέγων· Ἰδοὺ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἔσται ὡς χλια ἔτη.* It

¹These points are fully stated in PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1880, p. 65.

is to be observed that the closeness of Barnabas to 2 P. iii. 8, is greater than was the case in the like parallel in either Irenæus or Justin. What was said there is therefore *a fortiori* strong here. Nor can the difference of context in Barnabas be urged against his dependence on 2 Peter;¹ this is too characteristic of Barnabas elsewhere to be of any importance here.

The case with the parallels in CLEMENT OF ROME is not quite so plain. We have, first, Noah and Lot adduced in vii. 5, and xi. 1, similarly to what is done in 2 Peter ii. 5-9. And then we have two passages: ix. 2, "Let us fix our eyes on them that ministered perfectly $\tau\bar{\eta}\ \mu\bar{e}j\bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{o}\bar{p}\bar{r}\bar{e}\bar{p}\bar{\varepsilon}\bar{l}\ \delta\bar{\delta}\bar{\eta}\ a\bar{i}\bar{\tau}\bar{o}\bar{v}$, compared with 2 P. i. 17; and xxxv. 5, $\tau\bar{\eta}\ \delta\bar{\delta}\bar{\omega}\ \tau\bar{\eta}\bar{c}\ \bar{a}\bar{l}\bar{y}\bar{\eta}\bar{\theta}\bar{e}\bar{\iota}\bar{a}\bar{c}\bar{s}$, compared with 2 P. ii. 2—the strength of which rests in this fact: that in each case a very rare and peculiar phrase occurs, peculiar in the New Testament to 2 Peter, and in the sub-apostolic age to Clement. Certainly this is

¹There is a great deal of error abroad as to what and how much is needful to prove literary dependence. We need greatly a full, well-thought-out essay on the general question of literary dependence—its proofs, marks, and signs. Dr. Sanday in his "Gospels in the Second century," has made a fair beginning as to the question. With how much looseness may a second century father be allowed to quote and his quotation be recognised? But all is not done yet that is essential. Something is wrong or insufficient in the general understanding of this subject when men will universally and immediately recognise this passage as exhibiting dependence on Matthew—"All this preliminary ferment, then, [speaking of the brood of American poets in the second quarter of the nineteenth century] was in some way needful. The experiments of many who thought themselves called, enabled the few who were chosen to find motives and occasions for work of real import."—(Mr. Stedman in *Scribner for October, 1881* p. 821), and yet at the same time will doubt or deny any dependence on the same passage in the following—"Ως γέγραπται, πολλοὶ κλητοὶ, δηλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοὶ εἰρεθῶμεν" (Ep. of Barnabas, iv. 14), or doubt or deny a dependence on 2 Peter in the passages in the text. Is Mr. Stedman's *context* a voucher for his borrowing from Matthew? Or is there something in being a nineteenth century writer, and in English, which renders it more probable that he should quote from the New Testament, than if he were a second century writer and a Greek? Certainly something is wrong with the critics. *Or is it that Mr. Stedman's passage does not help the "Apologists," while Barnabas's does?* We are ashamed to even think such a thing.

enough to raise some probability that as early as 97 A. D., Clement had and borrowed a peculiar phraseology from 2 Peter.

Now, it must have been already observed that these parallels do not turn, as Reuss sneers, on Christian commonplaces, but that they contain marked peculiarities of phraseology and thought.

✓ Some of them seem insoluble save by—all of them easiest soluble by—the assumption of dependence on 2 Peter. If we had, earlier than Clement of Alexandria, only the probable references of Theophilus, Melito, Hermas, Test. xii. Patt., and Clement of Rome, the only rational course would be to ascribe 2 Peter to the first century and to the apostolic period. The presumption of its early date thus raised would be convincingly strong. Yet this is but the weaker half of our evidence. To a moral certainty 2 Peter was used by Irenæus (A. D. 175), Justin Martyr (c. 147), and Barnabas (c. 106). One probable quotation from the early second century would have so supported the inference flowing from the testimony of Clement of Alexandria and Origen as to render the first century origin of the book the only probable hypothesis. Instead of that we have fifteen or sixteen quotations. The two earliest of the post-apostolic writers both furnish references: the one such as almost demonstrates his use of the book, the other such as raises his use of it to a high degree of probability. There are no earlier witnesses to call. How can we fail to see that to a moral certainty 2 Peter came from the first century, and may very well, therefore, have sprung from the bosom of the apostolical circle?

II. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE EARLY ACCEPTANCE OF THE EPISTLE AS CANONICAL.

In seeking to discover the attitude of the early Church toward 2 Peter, too much cannot possibly be made of the fact that this Epistle was finally accepted as genuinely Peter's and part of the Canon by the whole Church. On the theory of its un genuineness (which implies uncanonicity) this is exceedingly difficult to account for. And this agreement as to its canonicity extends back certainly to the *fourth century*, in which, with the exception of

one branch of the Church only, 2 Peter was universally accepted as part of the Canon. The Byzantine, Alexandrian, and Western branches of the Church had at this time all accepted and were all holding confidently to this Epistle as of divine authority. The Syriac Church alone had omitted it from her canon. Not only is it found in those great monuments of the New Testament text as it existed in the fourth century, without a word or sign to distinguish it from the other books,¹ codices B and X; but it is witnessed to as existing in the Church Canon by the great writers of the day—by Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, by Athanasius, by Augustine, Rufinus, Jerome, Philastrius, by the third Council of Carthage, by the [Canons of Laodicea], Adamantius, Synopsis Athanasii, the Decreta of Damasus, Gelasius, and Hormisdas, the apostolical canons, and so on, down to our own time. Now, it has been well said that such a general support yielded to a book in the fourth century ~~in~~ an antecedent proof of the truth of its claims, so that with regard to it the question is not, What further proof have we for its canonicity? but rather, What proof have we which will justify us in putting it out of the Canon, authenticated as the Canon of the fourth century, as a whole, is?² Beyond all controversy this is a true position. That a book held so firm a position in the fourth century Canon is presumptive proof that it belonged of right in it; and this presumption is valid to determine our faith and rational assent unless it be set aside by cogent reasons. The question, therefore, is *not*, Independently of this presumption, what sufficient grounds have we for placing 2 Peter in the Canon? *but*, What sufficient grounds have we for putting it out of the Canon, where it seems so firmly instated?

Three facts have been and may be pleaded as such grounds: (1) The absence of the book from the Syriac Canon. (2) The doubts expressed concerning it by fourth century and earlier writers; and (3) The small amount of very early evidence for the existence of the book. Some remarks on each of these assertions will be proper.

¹In B the marginal marks of division are lacking.

²Westcott on the Canon, p. 319.

(1) It is to be admitted that 2 Peter was absent from the Syrian Canon current in the late fourth century, and after. Chrysostom accepts only three catholic epistles; Amphilochius of Iconium, in his catalogue, while mentioning that some accepted seven, mentions also that some accepted only three. Junilius himself accepts only two, though he admits that *quamplurimi* in his day accepted seven. Even as late a writer as Ebed Jesu (14th century) confines the catholic epistles to only three. Still further the Peshito version, as it comes down to us, in all its copies of any weight of evidence, omits the same four catholic epistles (together with the Apocalypse) which all these writers omit. And the loose and manifestly exaggerated remarks of Leontius of Byzantium¹ are doubtless to be understood as classing Theodore of Mopsuestia with this Syriac school. It is clear, therefore, that from the fourth century the Syriac Church omitted 2 Peter from her Canon. On the other hand, however, it is remarked that, even if this truly represented the original Syriac Canon, it would be the testimony of only one corner of the Church and could not overbear the testimony of the whole of the rest; but in truth it is more than doubtful whether the early Syriac Church rejected these epistles. Chrysostom is the earliest witness to the shorter form of the Syriac Canon, while earlier than his time that Canon seems to have included all of our New Testament books. Thus *Ephraem Syrus*, of the preceding generation, confessedly possessed all seven catholic epistles and the Revelation in an older Syriac translation of ecclesiastical authority². He is our earliest witness to the Peshito. The original Peshito is therefore admitted by such critics as Thiersch, Lücke, and even Hilgenfeld, to have doubtless contained the omitted books, while the form in which it was possessed by Chrysostom represents the result of a

¹*Contra Nestor. et Eutych. lit. III.* (Galland. *Biblio.* XII., 686 seq.) Compare also the wild statements of Kosmas' Indicopleustes.

²See Hilgenfeld's *Einleitung in das N. T.*, pp. 111, 112, 122, and the authorities there quoted. Ephraem's use of 2 Peter may be noted in *Opp. Syr.*, T. II., p. 342. *Græc.*, T. II., p. 387.

critical Antiochene revision of the fourth century.¹ This conclusion, sound in itself and in its own right, is yet still farther borne out by two further considerations: The later Syriae Church was not agreed as to the number of the catholic epistles—the school of Nisibis (represented by Junilius) accepting only two; and this diversity can be best accounted for by the supposition that the objection proceeded on critical grounds, and critical grounds were for each individual to determine also how much was to be rejected. And the earlier Syrian writers certainly possessed and esteemed the rejected books. Thus Theophilus of Antioch (168–180) had 2 Peter and Revelation,² Malchion had Jude,³ and Pamphilus had Revelation,⁴ (which he assigned to John,) and seemingly also the whole seven of the catholic epistles.⁵ The testimony of the early Syrian Church, therefore, is for our completed Canon; and the omission of 2 Peter from the later fourth century Syrian Canon resolves itself simply into another case of fourth century critical doubts.

(2) The doubts expressed by certain of the fourth century writers constitute the most serious objection to the force of the fourth century evidence for the genuineness of the epistle. Reported by Eusebius at Constantinople and Didymus at Alexandria,—acted on, as we have seen, by the Syrian Church,—repeated by Jerome in Italy,—the air seems heavy with them. Nor were they of late origin. Early in the third century, Origen, in one brief statement, lets us see that they existed even then. It is necessary, therefore, that we should give them detailed attention.

¹It has been customary to say that Ephraem witnesses to a Greek, not the Syrian Canon (so Westcott). But it is clear that his Canon all existed in Syriae, and it is doubtful how far his knowledge even of the Greek language extended. See Smith and Wace's *Diet. of Christ. Biog.* II., 142 and 143, for a just estimate of his Greek learning.

²Eus. II. E., IV., 24.

³Eus. II. E., VII., 30.

⁴Pamph. Apol., VII.

⁵Westcott, p. 362.

In his catalogue of New Testament books,¹ which, as a formal passage, must take precedence of all others, Eusebius arranges 2 Peter among the Antilegomena or disputed books. This, however, does not imply more than that it had not passed thus far without having been disputed, and, therefore, adds nothing to our knowledge. He moreover distinctly states that it was among those that had been “recognised by most,” and betrays the fact that his own opinion as to its genuineness was favorable. In brief, therefore, his testimony is that the book is genuine and was held to be such by the Church, although it had been disputed by unnamed individuals on unmentioned grounds.² It cannot be said, therefore, that he raises doubts as to the genuineness of 2 Peter; he simply recognises and records the doubts that had already been raised. Born probably and brought up certainly at Cæsarea, he had been from his earliest childhood in contact with the Syrian Church, and could not but be deeply affected by their critical opinions. He had the writings of Origen in his hands, and quotes the passage in which he communicates the fact that there were doubters of 2 Peter's genuineness in his day. There is no reason to believe that what he says of the position of 2 Peter has anything further than this at its base; he had promised to tell us whatever was said by earlier writers about the Antilegomena; and he tells us only of Origen's remarks against 2 Peter. We may with considerable confidence, therefore, affirm with respect to Eusebius, that he witnesses to the canonical position of

¹III. E., III., 25.

²Canon Westcott has shown (p. 388, *seq.*) that this formal statement must explain the other looser statements of Eusebius. Elsewhere (III., 3,) he declares that the book current under the name of 2 Peter had not been handed down (*παρειλήφαμεν*) as *ἐνδιάθετον*,—“still, since it appeared useful to many, it had been diligently read *with the other Scriptures*.” And later, he says somewhat unguardedly and inconsistently: “I recognise only one Epistle [of Peter] as genuine and acknowledged by the ancient presbyters;” though doubtless he meant the whole predicate here to be taken as one single thought, which would void the inconsistency. However difficult it may be to us to harmonise all this perfectly, it is clear that the passage given in the text, as being the only formal statement, must be the one followed.

2 Peter in the Church of his day,—that his own opinion was favorable to its genuineness,—that while he recognises the fact that it had been disputed, he yet tells us nothing of the grounds on which it had been disputed, and does not imply that he had knowledge of a greater or more wide-spread doubt than we have the items of. In other words, his remarks add nothing to the evidence against the epistle, but do add to the argument for the genuineness of the epistle. The shadows of the doubts whose complete selves could not shake his faith, need not shake ours.

The state of the case with reference to the doubts expressed by Didymus of Alexandria is much the same. He wrote a commentary on this epistle—which is itself a significant fact—at the close of which we find a sentence which in the Latin translation (which has alone come down to us) appears to read as follows: “It ought not, then, to be unknown that the epistle is accounted spurious [*falsatam*, probably a rendering of *vōteīvētaī*], which although it is in public use, is nevertheless not in the Canon.”¹ Like the statement of Eusebius, this only recites a fact without giving the grounds on which it is based. But, unlike the case of Eusebius, the fact here stated, if taken strictly, is demonstrably false, and Didymus’ personal opinion seems to be involved in the statement. If the original Greek stated, as the slovenly Latin seems to imply, that in Didymus’ day 2 Peter was not generally considered canonical, then Didymus has simply misinformed his readers. For, after the middle of the fourth century, when he flourished (born 309 or 314) it is confessed on all sides that 2 Peter was in the Church Canon. It is difficult to believe, however, that the Latin accurately represents the original Greek. Didymus uses 2 Peter most fully as Petrine and Scripture, in his work on the Trinity,² and this proves either that he himself

¹Migne, XXXIX., p. 1,774.

²In *De Trinitate*, he calls it a catholic epistle (Ed. Mingarell, p. 234), ascribes it distinctly to Peter (pp. 21, 28, 99, 151, 234), and cites it just like the other Scriptures (pp. 90, 115). Moreover, he cites 1 Peter under that name, thus implying in 2 Peter, (99, 182, 276, 340). It is worth while to note further that he seems to use 2 Peter as genuine, also in the *Enarratio in Ep. Judæ*, in defiance of his (seeming) adverse statement at the end of the *Enarratio in 2 Peter*. It may, perhaps, be worth noting further that the *Enarrationes* were a youthful work.

held it to be genuine, or that he was so accustomed to see it used and to use it as genuine that his critical opinion to the contrary was apt to be forgotten in practice,—that is, that it was generally considered genuine, and had been so considered through a long past. In all probability, Didymus simply repeats his master Origen; and at all events his own use of 2 Peter in his work on the Trinity sucks the poison out of his adverse statement. At the worst, it can only represent the personal opinion of Didymus supported by an anonymous minority, and therefore cannot stand against the faith of the mass of the Church.

Jerome, at last, informs us of the grounds of the early doubts. "Peter wrote," he tells us,¹ "two epistles which are called catholic; the second of which is denied by very many (*plerisque*) to be his *on account of dissonance of style with the first*." Jerome is not himself a doubter. His notice is valuable only because it assures us that the doubters of the early Church based their objections on purely *internal*, not *historical* considerations. From this hint we can understand the whole history. This explains why it is that these objections first appear at Alexandria, and why it is that they bore their fruit ~~away~~ in Syria. The Alexandrian school was notable above all others for internal criticism. It was in it that the style of Hebrews and Revelation was first discussed and inferences drawn from the discussion. If this was the source of objection to 2 Peter, it is not strange that objections are first heard of there. The Antiochene school, on the other hand, was the legitimate heir of Alexandrian speculation, and was the first to drive in many matters the critical hints of its predecessor to a practical end. It is not strange, that this same course was followed in this matter also. Jerome thus unties the whole knot for us, and in doing so voids these early objections of their terror. Let there have been many or few affected by them, (and Jerome's "*very many*" doubtless refers to the numbers involved in the rejection by the Syrian Church,) they are, as founded on internal considerations, of no value to us. We appeal to the fathers not for internal but for external arguments; and we can,

¹De Vir. Ill., c. 1.

when all the external testimony is in, examine opinions as to style at our leisure.

Origen, finally, was the earliest writer who mentions doubts as to our epistle; and his words are not unambiguous: "Peter . . . has left behind one epistle which is ὄμολογονμένην; perhaps also a second, for it is disputed."¹ Perhaps no more colorless words could have been chosen. Origen's own opinion cannot be gathered from them, and must remain in doubt. When this statement is taken in connexion with Origen's own practice in regard to the epistle,² it is plain, (1,) that some in Origen's day disputed the genuineness of this epistle, and yet, (2,) it was the usual if not universal habit to think and speak of it as Scripture and Peter's. It is clear from this that it was individuals who doubted, but the Church that received, and that the Church had received it through a long past.

Taking a general review of the early doubts expressed, we are justified in saying that, except the later Syrians, it is difficult to put our finger exactly on the doubters. Didymus possibly, Origen possibly, were among them; but most probably they were not. They are an anonymous body. And they are a minority and a hopelessly small one; in Jerome's day they are very many—before that, plainly few. The grounds of their doubt were purely internal, perhaps solely questions of style. It is plain, therefore, that they are by no means of sufficient importance to rebut the presumption already raised for the genuineness and canonicity of the epistle. The testimony of the Church, as the Church, rings clear and strong above all doubt in favor of the letter.

(3.) While it may be confessed that the evidence for the existence of 2 Peter drawn from writers earlier than Origen, is not as copious as could be desired, it has already been shown that it exists in abundant quantity to prove the letter to be as old as the apostolic times. Further evidence might make this proof more overwhelming, but could not alter its import. It is only where one shuts his eyes to this array of passages and refuses to consider really its meaning and strength, that he can allow himself to

¹Eus. H. E., VI., 25.

²See p. 46 above.

speak of an insufficiency of early references to that book. The amount of evidence for it seems small, and is in danger of appearing insufficient, only when it is viewed in comparison with the remarkable mass which God has preserved for the chief books of the New Testament. When compared with what is thought—and justly so—amply sufficient to authenticate any other early writing, it looms up before us great and invincible. 2 Peter is to a moral certainty quoted by two writers, and most probably by three or four more, within the first century after its composition; and long before the next century has rolled away, it is fully witnessed to as occupying an assured position in a Canon held all-holy, and thoroughly witnessed to as a whole. Now, Herodotus is quoted but once in the century which followed its composition, but once in the next, not at all in the next, only twice in the next, and not until its fifth century is anything like as fully witnessed to as 2 Peter is in its second. Again, Thucydides is not distinctly quoted, until quite two centuries after its composition; while Tacitus is first cited by Tertullian.¹ Yet no one thinks of disputing the genuineness of Herodotus, Thucydides, or Tacitus. Clement of Alexandria's testimony alone puts 2 Peter on a par with Tacitus; Origen's testimony alone would put it on a better basis than Thucydides stands securely on. Save for the contrast between the testimony for it, and that amazing abundance which stands for the greater New Testament books, it would be simply astonishing how any one could speak of insufficient witness; and that contrast is due not to insufficiency of evidence for 2 Peter, but to astounding over-sufficiency of evidence for the other books.

Thus no one of these lines of argument, nor all together, are able to raise any cogent rebutting evidence against the presumption from the attitude of the fourth century in favor of the book. A strong presumption still remains untouched, that this book thus accepted by the great writers and the Church in general, in that century, was always in the Canon—not to be set aside save on cogent grounds. And, resting on this presumption, we might here rest the case, asking simply for reasons why this book should

¹ Cf. for these facts Rawlinson's *Hist. Evidences*, p. 376 (American edition).

be ignominiously cast out of the Canon of the fourth century. This question clamors in vain for an answer. Yet the fourth century evidence is not all that can be adduced, and it will be instructive to go farther. We have seen incidentally that the notices of Origen prove that the book was a part of the Church Canon of the early years of the third century. And corroborative witness is at hand. Firmilian, in Asia Minor (†270), quotes it as an authoritative letter of Peter "the blessed apostle," when writing to Cyprian in North Africa; whence it is hard not to conclude that he could naturally count on Cyprian esteeming it just as he did—in other words, that at this period 2 Peter was part of the Canon of the universal Church. That it was part of the North African Canon of the third century is certain from the fact that it is included in the Claromontanian Stichometry.¹ In Italy, Hippolytus at the same time seems to quote it.² It cannot be denied, therefore, that it was a part of the Church Canon of the early third century; and the evidence goes further and proves that it was *naturally* in the Canon at this time—that the men of the early third century did not *put* it in, but *found* it in the Canon. It was, therefore, in the Canon of the later years of the second century. And indeed this is independently proved. Not only was it known to several authors of the time, but it was commented on by Clement of Alexandria, and has a place in both the Egyptian versions and in the early form of the Peshito, all of which date from the second century.³ No stronger evidence of its canonical authority at the time could be asked. We must shift our question back two centuries then, and ask, What reason exists to degrade 2 Peter from the Canon of the late second century? Known all over the Church at this period and securely fixed in the Canon, we find it quoted here and there, back to the

¹See the proof that this represents the African Canon of the third century in Credner's *Einleitung*, p. 175, and Hilgenfeld's, p. 107.

²De Antiehristo, c. 2.

³This is the old opinion as to the Peshito; and Dr. Lightfoot has rendered it the most probable date for the others. See also the opinion of Dr. Schaff and of Drs. Westcott and Hort in their new edition of the New Testament.

very earliest Christian writers; nay, Justin Martyr, before 147, quotes it in such a way as to prove that he esteemed it authoritative. What evidence is there which will compel us to revise the decision of the late second century and put the letter out of its Canon? Absolutely nothing is hazarded in asserting that its position in the Canon of this period peremptorily authenticates it as divine. Even were there no trace of it earlier, this would be enough; how much more so, with the traces we have of its earlier possession and estimation! One has but to catch the grounds on which this age held its canon, to be convinced of this. Irenæus tells us that he holds only to what has been handed down from the elders, the companions of the apostles; Clement appeals as boldly to tradition as his only dependence. Now, the teachers of these men were these very companions of the apostles. Polycarp was Irenæus's teacher, and he was the pupil of John. Clement had studied under many masters of the previous generation in all parts of the Church. The one *sine qua non* with all the writers of this age, for the reception of a book as canonical, was that it should come to them from these fathers as having come to them from the bosom of the apostolical circle. That a book was a recognised part of the New Testament of this period, therefore, authenticates it as having come from the elders who could bear personal witness to its apostolicity. So that the witness of the age of Irenæus alone, if fairly wide-spread, is amply sufficient to authenticate any New Testament book. 2 Peter has that witness. And it has more than that: it is independently witnessed to as coming from the apostolic times (Barnabas, Clement of Rome, etc.), and as being esteemed authoritative (Justin). Surely the presumption of its canonicity amounts to a moral certainty.

III. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF ITS GENUINENESS.

But what witness does the letter bear to itself? The Church has from the beginning held it to be an authoritative letter from Peter; *that* it is its own witness in this direction? It bears on the forefront the name of Peter, and this is the first thing we note in asking after internal evidence: the letter asserts itself to be by

Peter (i. 1, 14, 16). It is, therefore, either Peter's, or else a base and designing forgery. It cannot be held to be an innocent production which by some mistake has found its way into the Canon; it is either genuinely Peter's, or else it is an embodied lie. Now this raises a very strong presumption in favor of its genuineness. For it is apparent on any reading of it that a very "holy and apostolice spirit breathes through this letter." Not a false note is struck throughout the whole of it. "We feel," says Froumüller with as much truth as eloquence, "that the author stands in the grace and knowledge of Jesus Christ; that he loves truth above all things (i. 12; i. 3); that he is thoroughly in earnest about Christianity (i. 5); that he fears the judgments of eternity (ii. 1); that he believes in God's justice (ii. 9); that he despises cunningly-devised fables and speaks from a sure and personal autoptic knowledge (i. 16)." The Epistle's claim to be by Peter is thus reinforced by every mark of honesty in its form and matter.

We note next that what it tells us about its author is in striking harmony with its assertion that he was Peter. Not only does the double name Symeon Peter (with its Hebraic sound) fit, and the character of the writer reflect itself as the impulsive, quick, outspoken Peter of the Evangelists, but there are some minute points of coincidence brought out which certainly identify him. Thus, only three of the disciples witnessed our Lord's transfiguration. The author of this Epistle was one of them (i. 16-18). Can this natural reference to his own experience be the trick of a forger? That seems scarcely credible on the face of it, but it is rendered quite impossible by some minute signs in the context which prove that that scene had burnt itself into the writer's heart. His mind is full of it; it is retransacting itself before his very eyes as he writes; its smallest details are in his mouth as he speaks. We remember that it was Peter who said, "Lord, let us make here three *tabernacles*," and in verse 13 we see a reminiscence of this creeping out: "As long as I am in this *tabernacle*." Immediately after that wonderful scene the Lord had spoken of his *εξόδος*; and in verse 15 we find a reminiscence of this: "after my exodus." No forger could have introduced these reminiscences. Clearly, as the writer approaches the mention of the scene, his mind and

heart are full of it, and he naturally lets fall these minute reminiscences. The author of this letter seems certainly to have witnessed the transfiguration. Again, only seven of the disciples at most, most likely only two (xxi. 20), possibly only one, heard our Lord's prediction recorded in John xxi. 18. The author of this Epistle is one to whom Jesus had predicted a violent death (i. 14), and this must refer to this prediction. The author of this Epistle was again, therefore, Peter; who could have placed this reminiscence here but Peter?

Still again, the writer of this Epistle is the same as the Peter of the Acts. The style of the Epistle is the same as that of the speeches of Peter recorded in the Acts, as is proved by a long series of parallels capable of being adduced between the two,¹ the greater number of which turn on the usage of peculiar (*i. e.*, rare) words or phrases, and therefore present evidence of great convincingness.

Once again, the author of this Epistle was the writer of 1 Peter. In the face of all that has been urged as to the difference of style between the two, we still insist on this. The same character underlies both writings; both are the outflow of an ardent, impulsive, yet chastened heart. The writers of both bear the same relation to Paul and are anxious equally to express approval and recommendation of his teaching; the one quotes his words to a remarkable extent, and has evidently, as one object of his writing, to commend his doctrine (1 Peter v. 12 *et passim*); the other expressly declares its position on this point (2 Peter iii. 2). The writers of both are apt to draw their language from previous sources, not mechanically, but so as to show adoption by, and transmission through, a mind which has grasped at once all that has been said, has felt it through and through, and been so affected by it that it naturally repeats it in its own striking fashion. Thus 1 Peter depends on Romans and Ephesians; thus 2 Peter depends on Jude. The writers of both exhibit a tendency to adduce the *mysteries* of the truth in illustration of their arguments; thus compare 1 Peter iii. 19, iv. 6, iii. 6, 21, on the one hand, and

¹Alford adduces, *e. g.*: I. 1=Acts 1. 17; I. 3, 6, 7=Acts iii. 12; I. 21=Acts ii. 23; II. 8=Acts ii. 29; II. 8=Acts ii. 23; II. 9=Acts x. 2, 7; II. 9=Acts iv. 21; III. 2=Acts v. 32; III. 10=Aets ii. 20, etc.

on the other such passages as 2 Peter iii. 5, 10. That the *same* mysteries are not dwelt on by both does not void the argument, which turns on a quality of mind, the tendency found in both writers to bring forward incidentally the deep things of the kingdom. Still further, the doctrinal teaching of both writers, although adduced for different purposes and therefore expressed in different forms, is precisely the same, not only in ground principles but in modes of presentation, as even Schwegler feels forced to admit.¹ Even minute points of teaching, exhibiting favorite tenets, pass over from one Epistle to the other; this is true of the view as to prophecy (*cf.* 1 Peter i. 10–12 and 2 Peter i. 19–21, iii. 2), of the views of the new birth *through the divine word* (*cf.* 1 Peter i. 22, ii. 2, and 2 Peter i. 4); of the teaching given as to submission to worldly rulers (1 Peter ii. 13, and 2 Peter ii. 10); of the dread expressed of false teachers, etc. The likeness extends even to the use of special words such as *κρίπα* (1 Peter iv. 17 and 2 Peter ii. 3); *ἀρετη* (1 Peter ii. 9 and 2 Peter i. 3), etc. So that working one farther step we may say that the two Epistles exhibit striking resemblances of style, resemblances much more striking and far-reaching than the differences so freely adduced by many critics. These resemblances are seen not only in peculiar phrases, such as the form of salutation, “Grace and peace *be multiplied*,” found in these two Epistles and nowhere else; but also in the recurrence in both of rare combinations, such as *ἀμώμουν καὶ ἀσπιζον*, 1 Peter i. 19, repeated 2 Peter ii. 13 and iii. 14 and nowhere else, and also the common possession of a very peculiar vocabulary such as is represented by the occurrence in both of *ἐποπτεύσαντες* (1 Peter ii. 12, 2 Peter i. 16), *ισότιμος* (1 Peter i. 7, 19, 2 Peter i. 1, 4), reinforced by the like community in such as *φιλαδελφία* (1 Peter i. 22, 2 Peter i. 7); *χορηγεῖν* (1 Peter iv. 11, 2 Peter i. 5, 11); *ἀπόθεσις* (1 Peter iii. 21, 2 Peter i. 14); *ἀρετη* (1 Peter ii. 9, 2 Peter i. 3); *ἀναστροφή* (1 Peter i. 15, 2 Peter ii. 12); *ἀλιθεῖα* in a peculiar sense (1 Peter i. 22, 2 Peter i. 12); *κομίζεσθαι* (1 Peter i. 9, 2 Peter ii. 13), etc.;² all of which are rare words in the New Testament. In the face of such considerations as these,

¹Nachapost. Zeitalter, I. 512, *seq.*

²See Plumptre's *Christ and Christendom*, p. 345.

it would certainly require very cogent rebutting evidence to convince us that 2 Peter did not come from the same hand which gave us 1 Peter.

Before leaving this general subject, however, we must present two other internal considerations which cannot be passed over, and which possess considerable weight as evidence:

(1). The relation of our Epistle to the Gospel of Mark must be considered. All antiquity tells us that Mark's Gospel bears a special relation to Peter. Now compare 2 Peter ii. 1 and Mark xiii. 22; 2 Peter iii. 17 and Mark xiii. 23; 2 Peter iii. 10 and Mark xiii. 36; 2 Peter iii. 4 and Mark xiii. 19. These are certainly striking parallels; and if 2 Peter preceded Mark in time we may say they are conclusive that Peter wrote this Epistle. Yet there is a still more striking connexion between the two which seems to have all the force of a complex undesigned coincidence. All antiquity tells us that Mark wrote down what Peter orally taught of the Lord's life and teaching; and internal criticism of Mark's Gospel corroborates this external testimony. In 1 Peter v. 13, we find Mark on intimate terms with Peter (*cf.* also for an earlier period, Acts xv. 12). Now in 2 Peter i. 15 the author promises his readers that he will see to it that they shall be in a position after his death to have his teaching always in remembrance, and in this he has especial reference to the *facts* of Christ's life, witnessed to by him, as is proved by the purpose which he expresses for so arranging, namely, that they may know that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but facts autoptically witnessed. Surely this seems to promise a Gospel. And we have this series: 1 Peter testifies to Mark's intimacy with Peter; 2 Peter promises a Petrine Gospel; antiquity tells us that Mark was but Peter's mouth-piece. Who could have invented that middle term and so delicately inserted it into 2 Peter? 2 Peter thus appears a link in a natural chain which is complete with it and incomplete without it. All three of these sources from which the links are drawn are therefore genuine.¹

(2). 2 Peter witnesses to its own date. Whoever wrote it, it belongs to a time when Peter was living, and consequently he

¹ Cf. Plumptre, *loc. cit.*

might well have written it. We need do nothing more than consider the teaching and character of the false teachers condemned in it to prove this. They occupy a place intermediate between those condemned by Paul and those condemned by John. This has been clearly shown by Thiersch and repeatedly exhibited since, as for example, by Froumüller and Guerike; so that we may content ourselves with simply mentioning it here.¹

Conclusive independently or not, for the Petrine authorship of this Epistle, the internal evidence, considered as corroborative to the external testimonies already adduced, is certainly conclusive and ought to compel assent.

IV. THE REBUTTING EVIDENCE.

The evidence thus presented in favor of the canonicity of 2 Peter would seem to be almost overwhelming. It certainly raises a presumption of immense force in its favor, such as cannot be overturned except by equally cogent rebutting evidence. Yet, of late years, many have been found able to resist its force, such as Schmidt, Eichhorn, De Wette, Richter, Schott, Neander, Credner, Mayerhoff, Magnus, Andemars, Reuss, Daumas, Bleek, Huther, and the whole Tübingen school, from Schwegler to Hilgenfeld. It is necessary to ask, On what rebutting evidence do these writers rely? Hilgenfeld, indeed, hardly deigns to assign a reason for his action, but sets aside the Epistle summarily as, 1, presupposing the ungenuine 1 Peter as well as Jude; 2, as plainly belonging to the later Gnostic period (250†); and, 3, as having insufficient external support. But most of the other writers named are less high-handed—Credner, especially, entering fully into the argument; and from them we may obtain some

¹Another rather remarkable coincidence in the use of language may be adduced here, as having some bearing on the genuineness of 2 Peter. At a time when every word and act was permanently burning itself in on Peter's heart, our Lord had said to him: "Strengthen ($\sigmaτηριζω$) the brethren." Now it is noticeable that there are reminiscences of this word in both 1 and 2 Peter: *cf.* 1 Peter v. 10; 2 Peter i. 12; iii. 17. Does not this look as if he who had received that command, had written this Epistle? The word is not rare enough to found any secure inference upon; but its use in 2 Peter may count as one small item of evidence.

idea of the rebutting evidence on which they rely. It may be briefly stated as follows :

(1) There was a known tendency in the early Church to forge Peter's name.

(2) The external support of 2 Peter is insufficient.

(3) It has plainly borrowed largely from Jude, which is judged unworthy of an apostle by some, and by others is held a proof that 2 Peter belongs to the second century, on the ground of the assumed ungenuineness of Jude.

(4) The author exhibits too great a desire to make himself out to be Peter.

(5) Yet betrays the later time in which he wrote by many minute-anachronisms.

(6) The style of the Epistle is divergent from that of 1 Peter, and the differences amount at times to inconsistencies, such as the assumption that its readers (which are assumed to be the same as 1 Peter's) were personally taught by Peter (i. 15; iii. 2).

The first of these points might raise a suspicion against an unsupported claim to Petrine authorship, but only a *suspicion*, which would, moreover, give way before any evidence. The second has already been disproved. The third, again, is clearly invalid. One inspired writer frequently quotes the words of another, which is but the Spirit's authentication of himself; and the genuineness of Jude rests on a stronger array of proof than that of Second Peter, while the argument can be pleaded only on the assumption of the spuriousness of Jude. The other three arguments, (4), (5), and (6), are purely internal and subjective—depend for their force on the mental attitude and state of the critic, and cannot rebut the array of external and internal evidences for the Epistle, even if allowed just as urged. Think of really allowing more weight to these three opinions than to all that has been adduced—external and internal—in favor of the Epistle! Still, it will be instructive for us to note the details that are urged under these heads.

The fourth argument is strongly urged alike by Credner, Neander, and Reuss. But wherein is this great anxiety seen? In i. 1, iii. 1, 2, 15, say some; in the adduction of Christ's pro-

phesy, in i. 14, "in an unsuitable manner," and the unapostolic appeal to the transfiguration, in i. 17, as a proof of apostleship, say others. But how these natural passages can be alleged to prove forgery, it requires a very advanced critic to see. They are not *lugged in*, but *fallen into*. Who can see (except Neander) how the prophecy of Christ that Peter should die a violent death, is introduced "in an unsuitable manner"? It is barely alluded to, and that obscurely: is that the way with forgers, who introduce such allusions for a purpose? The transfiguration is not adduced to prove the apostleship of the writer, but to prove the truth of the teaching which the readers had received as to the divinity of Christ by an autoptic testimony. The other passages can be paralleled from 2 Corinthians, which is allowed to be genuine; and could not fail if 2 Peter be a *second* letter of the *Apostle Peter's*. How then can this be urged against this authorship? The items adduced under the fifth head are equally unsatisfactory, and conclusive as to nothing but the hypercriticism of their addueers. (4) and (5) are moreover mutually destructive; such a consummate forger as (4) requires could not have fallen into such easy traps as (5) adduces—the fault must be the critic's, not the author's. The points actually adduced are the mixing of the presents and futures in ii. 12–15, 17–22; Gnostic traces; references to myths (i. 16); the blending of Petrinism and Paulinism (iii. 15, 16); the use of the term "Holy Mount" (i. 18), which is said to be a designation which could only have supplanted the proper name of the mountain at a comparatively late date; the mode of citing St. Paul's epistles as Scripture, which they are not esteemed to be at first; the evidences of disappointed hopes as to the speedy second coming of Christ, and the peculiar adduction of apostolic testimony in iii. 2. The basis of most of these is pure assumption. The so-called Gnostic tendencies opposed belong clearly to an earlier age than those opposed by John, while Irenaeus is our witness to the contemporaneity of John and Cerinthus, who, he tells us, held the advanced doctrines controverted in John. The discovery of a blending of Petrinism and Paulinism, and a consequent betrayal of a reconciling purpose, grows simply out of a Tübingen dream: what happens if it be true that Peter and Paul were never opposed

to one another? The “Holy Mount” is not introduced as a name, but as a descriptive designation of a well-known spot. Who says St. Paul’s epistles were not esteemed Scripture at the beginning? and who will undertake to prove it? Paul so quotes Luke in Timothy; why not Peter Paul? Shall we bend our theories to fit the facts, or the facts to fit the theories? The peculiarity of iii. 2 depends only on a false reading, and disappears on the restoration of the true ancient text. Why presents and futures are mixed in the repetitions from the earlier Jude, the careful exegete will not need to ask. And who shall say how soon fanatics in the early Church needed correcting as to our Lord’s second coming? Evidence such as this certainly rebuts itself rather than the opposing considerations.

The latter half of the sixth head will need no reply, as it turns on a misinterpretation of plain passages. 2 Peter iii. 2, can be pleaded here only before corrected in its reading; when we read *ἱμῶν* with the best authorities, the opposite is implied; i. 15 only implies that there were close relations between the readers and Peter, such as might have been indicated by the first Epistle; the “we” of i. 16 includes all preachers of the gospel, some of whom had preached to these Christians. Much more stress is, however, usually laid on the simple argument from diversity of style. But how the details adduced can bear any weight, it is exceedingly difficult to see. Credner has probably presented this argument as strongly as it admits of—certainly more strongly than any one else as yet. The list of the “most remarkable differences,” which he urges, is as follows:¹ 2 Peter’s common use of *κύριος* for Christ, which 1 Peter never does, except i. 13 (borrowed from Ephesians), while on the other hand 2 Peter always so uses it, except in passages derived from Jude or the Old Testament; 2 Peter’s frequent application of the term *σωτήρ* to Jesus, which 1 Peter never does; 2 Peter’s application to Christ of what 1 Peter applies to God, and its seldom mention of God; the failure in 2 Peter of the common words *ἀποκάλυψις*, *ἀποκαλύπτω*, when speaking of the second advent, which are common in 1 Peter, while *ἱμέρα* is the common

¹See his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 1836, p. 660, *seq.*

term in this connexion in 2 Peter; the Hebraistic or pleonastic use of the preposition *ἐν* in 2 Peter, a usage not found at all in 1 Peter; the failure in 2 Peter of the common 1 Peter usage of an unessential *ὡς*; the substitution for the titles by which the Christian teaching is called in 1 Peter, viz., *εὐπίες, χάρις, πίστις, ἀλιθεία, λόγος, εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Θεοῦ*, etc., of quite distinct designations in 2 Peter, such as *Χριστοῦ δίναμος καὶ παρονοσία* (i. 16), “the way of righteousness” (ii. 21), the “holy commandment” (ii. 21), the “commandment of the Apostles” (iii. 2), etc.; the failure in 2 Peter of the common and frequent quotation of the Old Testament as found in 1 Peter; and finally, broadly, the diffuse, heavy, languid style of 2 Peter, as distinguished from the easier, synthetic, irregular, fresh style of 1 Peter.

Are these worth the stating, except as an interesting inquiry as to the special peculiarities of two writings from the same hand? Will they bear any weight, considered as rebutting evidence against sufficient testimony? Reuss speaks wise, even if obvious, words when he says:¹ “On the theological and linguistic differences between the two Epistles, which the later criticism has so emphasised, we lay no stress. The two Epistles are too short, have to do with wholly different circumstances; and especially there are no direct contradictions to be found. Only if the Epistle is on other grounds proved to be ungenuine, can this also be brought into account.” In other words, the argument from style is not valid against the genuineness of the Epistle. We say, Amen! What, then, are we to do with this long list of Credner’s? Only note the following points: 1. The list of differences is nothing like as striking as the list of resemblances; so that the problem is *not* to find a theory which will account for the differences alone, *but* to find a theory which will account for the coexistence of differences with still more striking resemblances. Diversity of authorship will not do this. 2. The differences are mere contradictions, and usually not uniform, but only *prevailing* differences—some parallels being found in the other Epistle. 3. Credner fails to take account of the very distinct occasions, objects, spirits, on,

¹Geschichte, etc., Neue Testament, § 270–2.

for, and in which the two letters were written. These determine the style of speech in this case, and will account for most if not all of the differences adduced. The fact that 2 Peter is specifically a letter of reproof and warning, will account for its general tone as different from 1 Peter (a letter of exhortation and comfort); the character of the errors opposed will account for the fact that it dwells on the majesty and lordship of Christ, his saving power, his authority and love, and substitutes him for God in most passages. This goes like a destroying brand straight through Credner's list. 4. Still further, Credner forgets that it is characteristic of Peter to rest on and write out of a previous document. The fact that Paul lay at the root of 1 Peter, and Jude at the root of 2 Peter, will account for much divergence in style; still the community of authorship of both accounts for their resemblances. The theory of diversity of authorship will thus not account for the phenomenon; we have unity in diversity to account for, and must assume unity of authorship in the account we render.

The state of the argument, then, really is this: a mountain mass of presumption in favor of the genuineness and canonicity of 2 Peter, to be raised and overturned only by a very strong lever of rebutting evidence; a pitiable show of rebutting evidence offered as lever. It is doubtless true that we can move the world if the proper lever and fulcrum be given. But if the lever is a common quarryman's tool and the fulcrum thin air! Then, woe only to the man who wields it. What can such rebutting evidence as we have here, really injure, except its own cause?

V. THE HISTORY OF THE EPISTLE.

We are surely in a condition now to assert that the canonicity of the letter is secure. We pause only to add briefly its history. Sent forth by Peter soon after the middle of the first century (say in A. D. 67), it soon found its way, as an authoritative part of the Canon of faith, over the whole Christian world. Already with the beginning of uninspired Christian literature, it is found everywhere. Clement has it in 97 at Rome; Barnabas in 106 at Alexandria; at the same time the Jewish Christian author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, was reading it at Pella.

Throughout the second century the Church enjoyed the peaceful possession of it; and before the close of that age was demanding and receiving commentaries upon it. In the meantime the acute school of internal criticism at Alexandria was scrutinising its peculiarities, and by the beginning of the third century some were found able to magnify them into inconsistencies with 1 Peter. On these internal grounds some were now led to question its genuineness and consequently its canonicity; but no one was yet bold enough to excise it from the Canon. The fourth century found a critical school in Syria, daring above all precedent; and here at last, but only here, the subjective judgment of minute one-sided scholarship won the victory over the external evidences for the Epistle. The common sense of the Church at large, however, refused to be thus led, and preserved it from the heresy: and soon, as the value of the subjective criticism was better understood, the doubts that had been raised died away, and the Epistle's place in the Canon became once more undoubted. So matters stood until the Reformation. Then once more individual doubts revived, while once more the Church stood firm. Erasmus, Cajetan, Luther, even Calvin, spoke doubtfully of its genuineness and consequent canonicity; but even such names could not lead the Church astray. That storm was also weathered, and once more the waters seemed quiet. Once more, in these modern times, we see the attack begun; but once more we witness the same phenomena as of old repeated—*individuals* doubt, the *Church* stands firm. In the whole history of the Church, the Syrian Church alone among the Churches has ever, as a body, doubted the Epistle. From the beginning, the Church as a Church has always held it without fear and without dubiety. With the evidence as it is, so it ought to be. We think we hazard nothing in adding, so it will ever be.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.







DR. EDWIN A. ABBOTT
ON THE
GENUINENESS OF SECOND PETER.

From the Southern Presbyterian Review, April, 1883.

DR. EDWIN A. ABBOTT

ON THE

GENUINENESS OF SECOND PETER.

In the great revival of interest in all branches of Biblical Criticism which is at present in progress, it cannot seem strange that such a book as 2 Peter has received a great deal of attention. The fact is, at all events, illustrated by the appearance from English presses, during the course of the "publishers' year," extending from the autumn of 1881 to the autumn of 1882, of at least four important (*inter alia minora*) discussions of the genuineness of that Epistle. It may also be a significant mark of the temper of the times that no two of these discussions reach the same conclusion. Dr. Huther,¹ who examines the question with the painstaking care that behoved a German scholar and a continuer of Meyer's Commentary, but who does not succeed in preventing our missing the master's own hand, comes simply to a

¹ *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of Peter and Jude.* By Joh. Ed. Huther, Ph. D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. See p. 284.

verdict of *non liquet*. “If, then,” he says, “the grounds for and against the authenticity are thus evenly balanced, there is here presented a problem which is not yet solved, and which perhaps cannot be solved.” Canon Farrar, after a discussion in which he has, as is his wont, smelted rhetoric and argument into one glowing mass, finally follows a hint of Jerome’s,¹ and asserts for the Epistle a modified genuineness. He cannot find in it either Peter’s individual style or characteristic expressions; he recognises in it a different mode of workmanship from his. Yet it seems to him “impossible to read it without recognising in it an accent of inspiration, and without seeing a ‘grace of superintendence’ at work in the decision by which it was finally allowed to take its place among the canonical books.”² He thinks “that St. Peter may have lent his name and the weight of his authority to thoughts expressed in the language of another;”³ “that we have not here the words and style of the great Apostle, but that he lent to this Epistle the sanction of his name and the assistance of his advice.”⁴ Professor Lumby, after an examination of the internal evidences for the Epistle which cannot be characterised by any lower term than brilliant, concludes that it points clearly to St. Peter as its author, and that “it bears its witness in itself.”⁵ Dr. Edwin A. Abbott, who investigates the difficulties in the way of assigning the Epistle to Peter, in a paper at once learned, acute, and intensely interesting, which runs through three numbers of a critical journal, concludes that it cannot be by Peter, is unworthy in style, barren in thought, a plagiarism from first to last, and depends on writings which were not published until a quarter of a century after Peter’s death.⁶ If the careful

¹ *Ep. ad. Hedit.*, 120, 11.

² “*The Expositor*,” Second Series, Vol. III., p. 423.

³ “*The Expositor*,” etc., p. 409.

⁴ *The Early Days of Christianity*. By F. W. Farrar, D. D., F. R. S., etc. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Vol. I., p. 207.

⁵ *The Holy Bible, etc. Commentary and a Revision of the Translation*. By Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church. Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., etc. Vol. IV., p. 234.

⁶ “*The Expositor*,” as above, Vol. III., pp. 49–63, 139–153, and 204–219.

Huther cannot reach any conclusion, and Drs. Farrar and Lumby attain theirs only with difficulty, and express them with modest over-hesitancy, Dr. Abbott at least feels no hesitancy and exhibits no doubt. His decision and language alike are strong. If we may venture to compare the discussion with another, to which it has many points of likeness (although certainly not in its issue)—that which has arisen over the genuineness of the Chronicle of Dino Campagni—we may say that Dr. Abbott uses the method of Sheffer-Boichorst in the spirit of Fanfani.

It will go without saying that Dr. Abbott's argument is attractively and plausibly presented. It constitutes, indeed, the most considerable arraignment of the Epistle that has been put forth since the days of the giants of a half century ago. It is, moreover, in its main points, quite fresh and new. It certainly demands close attention, careful examination and sifting. And it is to be sincerely hoped that it will not continue to be met only by "a conspiracy of silence." Canon Farrar expressed this hope so long ago as last June; but, so far as we are aware, his own brief criticism is as yet the only one that has seen the light.¹ It is only thus because more experienced students have not seen fit or found time and opportunity to publicly examine the new questions raised, that we have felt driven to undertake the task. Whatever may be the final result of discussion, it certainly cannot but be a help towards a proper appreciation of the facts of the case and the attainment of truth, for one and another to set down frankly, in due honesty, the impression which Dr. Abbott's arguments have made upon them. Such is our purpose in this paper.

It would be both impossible in reasonable space and tedious to the reader for us to attempt to detail all the processes of the investigations into which a study of Dr. Abbott's arguments necessarily carries one. It is well to advertise beforehand, therefore, that this paper does not profess to *make* these investigations, but only to

¹ Prof. Robert B. Drummond ("The Academy," for October 14, 1882), in reviewing Canon Farrar's work on *The Early Days of Christianity*, seems to accept Dr. Abbott's "discovery" of dependence of 2 Peter on Josephus. This is, however, only a chance remark, not a criticism.

present, as clearly as may be, support, and commend, the conclusions to which we have, after investigation, arrived. It would be pure affectation to preserve the form of investigation merely for effect ; and we cherish the hope that our cause will not be prejudiced by the frank confession that we have not ventured to write upon this subject until after we had reached our conclusions upon it. We trust our *study* has been carried through with open and tractable mind ; we confess that we *write* with a foregone conclusion. The purpose of this paper becomes thus a defence of the genuineness of 2 Peter against Dr. Abbott's strictures.

The same necessity for shunning inordinate length and tediousness forbids us, again, to attempt to supply an answer to every specification which Dr. Abbott has made in the course of his three articles. Fortunately, however, a selection may be made among them, without great prejudice to our cause. Only certain portions of his argument are new, and we may fitly confine our fine ourselves to these new portions, especially as they happen to be also both the most forcible in themselves and the most relied upon by Dr. Abbott. The older arguments, although consummately marshalled, are not essentially altered by his treatment of them ; and we may content ourselves in dealing with them with referring only to their character and indicating that they have been answered fully in advance.

DR. ABBOTT'S SCHEME OF ARGUMENT.

If, at the outset, we take a general glance over Dr. Abbott's argument against the Epistle, as a whole, we will find that it may be summed up under the following heads : 1. The external evidence for the Epistle is altogether insufficient. 2. It is dependent, in a literary way, on books which were published only after Peter's death—such as the Epistle of Clement of Rome, and notably the Antiquities of Josephus. 3. It not only borrows from Acts, 1 Peter, and especially Jude, and that in such a way as to exhibit its writer as a barren plagiarist, but, in borrowing, bungles and blurs everything it touches. 4. Its style is wholly unworthy of an Apostle—being, in fact, no style at all, but only a barbarous medley of words, such as a vain, half-taught Hindoo

puts together in trying to write “fine” English. 5. It cannot be by the same writer who wrote 1 Peter, as, indeed, this unworthy style, which is not found in 1 Peter, sufficiently witnesses, and as is further proved by other important differences between the two Epistles, such as, for example, their divergent use of such particles as express the manner of thought, their divergent degree of dependence on the Old Testament, etc. 6. Other internal evidences of the spuriousness of the Epistle, are not lacking; such as the statement in iii. 1, implying a very close connexion, both in its readers and in time, with the first Epistle; whereas, the implication of the contents of the Epistles separate them vastly—the use of the term “Holy Mount”—the authorisation of the whole body of Paul’s Epistles, etc.

The reader who is familiar with the literature of the subject, will observe immediately that the new matter advanced by Dr. Abbott falls under the second and fourth of these heads; the second is, indeed, Dr. Abbott’s own discovery, while the fourth, although old in essence, is treated in so fresh a way as to make it practically new. The other heads of argument only state anew old and well known objections, often urged and often rebutted, and will not demand from us a renewed treatment. A word or two only concerning them seems called for. Only one of them is urged by Dr. Abbot with any fulness—the second paper of his series being devoted to the discussion and illustration of the “plagiarism” from Jude. The specialty of the treatment of the subject lies, not in an assertion of a post-apostolic origin for Jude, and consequently *a fortiori* for 2 Peter, nor in a contention that it is unworthy of an Apostle to borrow so freely from another writer, but in an attempt to prove that the borrowing has proceeded after a dull, unintelligent, distorting, ignoble manner, such as is totally unworthy of any reputable writer. That Dr. Abbott has made out the fact that 2 Peter does borrow from Jude, we freely confess; the fact itself is well-nigh patent, and has been repeatedly much more fully and convincingly proved than Dr. Abbott has proved it. But that it has been shown that the borrowing has been done in a confused, distorted, or unintelligent manner, we can think as little in his case as in the case of

his predecessors who have plied the same arguments, and have been repeatedly satisfactorily replied to.¹ We are unable to discover that Dr. Abbott adduces anything new in this connexion, or adds at all to the force of the old arguments; we feel, therefore, perfectly safe in leaving his refutation to the by no means worn out considerations which have refuted the same arguments in the mouths of a DeWette and a Schwegler.² On the other internal arguments which he adduces against the Epistle, Dr. Abbott only touches, as it were, by the way. They have been superabundantly answered in advance, and Dr. Lumby, for instance, has opposed to them counter internal considerations,³ which hopelessly overshadow them. It would be almost an impertinence in us to mar the strength of his admirable presentation of the subject, by adding a single additional word to it here.

Dr. Abbott does not even state the external evidence, but contents himself with a reference to the admissions of Drs. Lightfoot and Westcott, and the broad assertion that no trace of the existence of the letter can be found earlier than the late second century (Clement of Alexandria). It would be uncalled for, therefore, to turn aside from the discussion of the arguments which he does develop in detail, to enter upon one to which he gives only this one passing word more fully than merely to set opposite to his assertion our counter assertion that *Second Peter* is quoted by many writers before Clement of Alexandria,⁴ and to call attention to the fact that the “trace” of the Epistle found in Clement of

¹ What the opinion of the critics mentioned above is as to the question of the *manner* of borrowing, may be gleaned from the following. Huther, p. 279, says: “The firmness of 2 Peter’s line of thought does not in any way suffer thereby.” Cf. p. 256: “In neither, have we a slavish dependence or a mere copy, but the correspondence is carried out with literary freedom and license.” Farrar, I., p. 196, *seq.*: “St. Peter. deals with his materials in a wise and independent manner.” Prof. Lumby thinks Jude was the borrower.

² Compare, for instance, the treatment of the subject by Huther, Brückner, Weiss, Alford, and Frederic Gardiner. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, XI. p. 114.)

³ In the fourth volume of the Speaker’s Commentary, as above.

⁴ The proof of this may be read in the SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW for January, 1882, pp. 48, *seq.*

Alexandria is of a kind, by itself, to prove much about the Epistle—being nothing less than this: that Clement wrote a Commentary on it as a part of a series of “concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures.”¹ This certainly has more evidential value than is brought out in the mere statement that the first trace of the existence of the Epistle is found in Clement of Alexandria. One other fact in Dr. Abbott’s attitude towards the external evidences needs notice. And this is of no less moment than this: the admission that literary connexion has been made out between Second Peter and Clement of Rome. The admission is made, indeed, only to prepare the way for arguing that the borrowing has been done *by* not *from* Second Peter. On this point, however, the mass of scholars may be expected to hold a different opinion. Dr. Abbott pleads that Second Peter has an established character as a borrower and hence probably did this borrowing; and that if Second Peter borrowed from a work of Josephus published in A. D. 93, it is not likely that it was borrowed from by Clement as early as 95. If, however, the evidence that 2 Peter was the borrower rests on the probability that it borrowed from Josephus, it leans on a very broken reed, as we hope to show; and Dr. Abbott forgets that Clement is quite as confirmed a borrower as 2 Peter. If the one uses Jude freely, the other uses Hebrews quite as freely; and doubtless if accurate scales were used, as large a proportion of Clement’s letter might be shown to be borrowed as of 2 Peter. On the other hand, it seems to be clear that if there does exist literary connexion between the two documents, as we now think is morally certain, the dependence is of Clement on Peter. The considerations which drive us to this conclusion are the following: (1.) We have a series of writers dependent on 2 Peter—Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Theophilus, Melito, Hermas, Justin, Testt. xii. Patt., Barnabas, Clement of Rome; and it is exceedingly difficult to insert 2 Peter anywhere in that series and say it borrows from all on one side of it and is borrowed from by all on the other. It most naturally comes at the end of the series. The same consideration which Dr. Abbott pleads as a reason why he should not place it between

¹ *Id.*, p. 46.

Josephus and Clement of Rome, we plead against placing it between Clement and Barnabas, or Barnabas and the Testt. xii. Patt., and so on. (2.) The phenomena of the parallel passages themselves do not seem to us, as they do to Dr. Abbott, absolutely neutral on this question. All the indications seem rather to point to 2 Peter as the original source, as perhaps a study of them as given in the note below¹ may convince the reader. (3.) Perhaps

¹ The parallel passages are as follows:

(1.) Clement vii. 1.

These things, dearly beloved, we write, not only as admonishing you, but also as *putting* ourselves in *remembrance*. (*επομηνήσκειν* as in 2 P. i. 12.)

2 Peter i. 12.

Wherefore I shall be ready to *put* you in *remembrance* of these things. iii. 1. This is now, beloved, the second epistle that I write unto you; and in both of them I stir up your sincere minds by putting you in *remembrance*.

(2.) Clement vii. 5, 6.

Let us review all generations in turn and learn how, from generation to generation, the Master hath given a place for repentance unto them that desire to turn to him. Noah heralded repentance and they that obeyed were saved. xi. 1. For his hospitality and godliness Lot was saved from Sodom when all the country round about was judged by fire and brimstone; the Master having thus foreshown that he forsaketh not them which set their hope in him, but appointeth unto punishment and torment them that swerve aside.

2 Peter ii. 5-9.

For if God . . . spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah with seven others, a herald of righteousness, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly; and burning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, having made them an example unto those that should live ungodly; and delivered righteous Lot sore distressed by the lascivious life of the wicked (for that righteous man, dwelling among them, in seeing and hearing, vexed his righteous soul from day to day with their lawless deeds): the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation and to keep the unrighteous under punishment unto the day of judgment.

(3.) Clement iv. 1 x.

Wherefore, let us be obedient unto his excellent and glorious will. . . . Let us fix our eyes on them that ministered perfectly unto his excellent glory. Let us set before us Enoch, etc. . . . Noah, being found faithful, by his ministration preached (*ἐκήρυξεν*) regeneration into the world, and through him the Master saved the living creatures that entered into the ark, in concord.

2 Peter i. 17.

For he received from God the Father honor and glory when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, "This is" etc., . . . and this voice we heard, etc. ii. 5, 6. And spared not the ancient world, but preserved Noah and seven others, a preacher of righteousness, when he brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly.

if it stood alone, the passage from Clement xxiii. 3, could not be asserted to be a reminiscence of Jas. i. 8, (*cf.* v. 7) and 2 P. iii. 4, combined;¹ but the fact that other sufficient proof of literary connexion between Clement and 2 Peter exists, turns the scale in this passage and determines that this is another item of it. If so, then, not only is 2 Peter the older document, but also it was held by Clement to be Scripture. We have purposely refrained from adding as (4) that all the presumption for the genuineness of 2

(4.) Clement **xxiii. 5-7**

Let our souls be bound to him that is faithful ἐπαγγελίας . . . ἐν λόγῳ τῆς μεγαλωνίης αὐτοῦ συνεστήσατο πάντα καὶ ἐν λόγῳ δύναται αὐτὰ καταστρέψει.

2 Peter iii. 5-7.

For this they wilfully forget [speaking of the surety of God's ἐπαγγελία] that . . . οἱρανοὶ ἡσαν ἐκπαλαι καὶ γῆ . . . συνεστῶσα, τῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . οἱ δὲ νῦν οἱρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τεθησαντισμένοι εἰσὶ, πυρὶ τηρούμενοι εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως.

(5.) Clement xxiii. 3.

Let this Scripture be far from us where it saith: "Wretched are the double-minded which doubt in their soul and say, 'These things we did hear in the days of our fathers also, and behold we have grown old, and none of these things have befallen us.'"

2 Peter iii. 4.

In the last days mockers shall come . . . saying, "Where is the promise of his coming, for, from the day that the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation?"

(6.) Clement xxxv. 5.

If we accomplish such things as beseem his faultless will, and follow the way of truth, casting off from ourselves all unrighteousness and iniquity, etc., etc.

2 Peter ii. 2.

And many shall follow their lascivious doings; by reason of whom the way of the truth shall be evil spoken of.

The first and sixth of these parallels hardly give indication of the direction of the borrowing; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, however, (independently of the statement of Clement, that he borrowed the fifth) all severally give clear hints of the fact that the passage in Clement is the borrower. Note, *e. g.*, the compression in the fourth by Clement, as he briefly takes from Peter's larger context the exact thought he needed. The way in which the peculiar phrase, "excellent glory," is introduced in the third, in each writer, is again decisive that Peter's is the original. The phenomena of the fifth are even stronger in the same direction, etc.

¹ Compare how Clement smelts together reminiscences of different passages in chapter xiii. (Matt. v. 7; vi. 14; vii. 12; Luke vi. 38; vi. 37; Matt. vii. 2), and from the Old Testament, *passim*.

Peter which arises from the varied proofs which combine to establish it¹ is against the hypothesis that it has borrowed from Clement: not because we do not regard this as a valid or convincing argument, but because we deem it unnecessary for the establishment of our point and do not wish to be delayed to show the strength of the presumption. The result of an examination of the relation between 2 Peter and Clement therefore seems to be that to a moral certainty Clement had and used 2 Peter and that probably as Scripture. This one fact, taken alone, burdens any argument which would go to prove a later date than say A. D. 75 for 2 Peter with an almost insuperable objection at the outset, and it is under a realisation of this that we would wish the reader to proceed with us in our further discussion. We purpose to examine, 1. Dr. Abbott's arraignment of 2 Peter's style, and 2. The relation of 2 Peter to Josephus.

DR. ABBOTT'S ARRAIGNMENT OF 2 PETER'S STYLE.

Dr. Abbott has a very low opinion of the style of 2 Peter. He thinks it "throughout that of a copyist and 'fine writer,' ignorant of ordinary Greek idiom, yet constantly striving after grandiloquent Greek, an affected and artificial style, wholly unlike that of the First Epistle of St. Peter, a style so made up of shreds and patches of other men's writings and so interpersed with obsolete, sonorous, and meaningless words, that it really has no claim to be called a style at all, and resembles nothing so much as the patch-work English of a half-educated Hindoo aping the language of Lord Macaulay and Dr. Johnson with an occasional flavor of Shakespeare."² He believes it possible "to show that there is probably not one original thought and scarcely one natural expression in the whole of it."³ This would be enough to take one's breath away, except that it admits of a very easy demonstration that the criticism itself is only a piece of "fine writing" and cannot be by any possibility true. Common sense refuses to be persuaded that native Greeks of culture and scholarship—acute critics of language and style, great scholars and rhetoricians, pro-

¹ See SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, January, 1882, p. 45, *seq.*

² P. 153.

³ P. 150.

lific writers—like Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Athanasius, should have read this Epistle for ages, studied it, criticised it, written commentaries on it, and honored it all this time as divinely inspired without ever discovering that its style was such as “would induce a Greek reader to form about it the same judgment that we naturally form about the ‘Native Estimate’”; ¹ in a word, that “there is no style, no naturalness” about it, nothing but “a barbarous medley of words.” ² Calm judgment again refuses to believe that scholars like Ewald, Brückner, Hofmann, Huther, Weiss, could be so wofully deceived as to admire a style which is “essentially ignoble” both in thought and wording, which is characterised by “vulgar pomposity, verbose pedantry, and barren plagiarism,” and can be but the natural expression of “a pedantical phrase-compiler who bungles and blurs” everything he touches. Surely a sober reader is entitled to brush away such a fanfaronade with a justly impatient gesture.

It will be of use to us, however, to observe the kind of specification that is made to support this wholesale attack at once on the style of 2 Peter, the discernment of the Greek fathers, and the scholarship of the best modern masters of Hellenistic Greek, as well as the manner of argumentation by which the style of 2 Peter is made an evidence of its spuriousness. Dr. Abbott recognises the fact that neither apostolicity nor inspiration secures to a writer Attic purity of Greek. “Let it be clearly understood,” he says, ³ “that we do not ground our objections to the genuineness of the Epistle on its bad Greek.” The argument bases itself on the contention that the style is bad in such a way as to exhibit not simply ignorance of Greek, but certain bad mental and moral traits: “barrenness,” “inanity,” “shallowness,” “pedantry,” “vanity,” “dulness,” “vulgarity,” “ignobility,” and so on, through almost “a glossary of the *rarest* words in the [English] language.” It is observable, therefore, that Dr. Abbott’s argument is confessedly not valid unless it be shown not merely that 2 Peter contains *bad Greek*, rare, otherwise unknown, or even falsely framed or used

¹ A characteristic specimen of the “half-educated Hindoo English,” mentioned above.

² P. 206.

³ P. 214.

words, rare, difficult, or even solecistic constructions; but also that these words are so used as to exhibit an ignobility of mental or moral constitution in the writer. Dr. Abbott must certainly be held in his specifications to items supporting one or the other of these two assertions: 1. That the style bears witness to a mentally or morally ignoble writer; or 2. That it is ineradically and inexplicably different from that of First Peter.

A careful reader will look in vain through Dr. Abbott's very interesting pages for such items. His three main contentions are that the Epistle is full of "barren plagiarisms," "artificial tautology of fine words," and "vulgar pedantry," concerning which it is immediately to be observed that the argument in each case lies in the adjective, while the facts do not justify even the noun. It is indeed true that 2 Peter has freely borrowed from Jude and adopted phrases here and there from other writings; but it is just as certainly not true that the borrowing has been done in any unworthy, ignoble, or barren manner, or can be justly described as plagiarism. There certainly do occur repetitions of words and phrases in the Epistle, and some unusual, not to say unique, words may be turned up in it; but this mere fact is certainly not unworthy or vulgar, nor are the circumstances of the various cases such as will render them so. We have already said all that we need say concerning the borrowing from Jude; it will be instructive to note here Dr. Abbott's way of dealing with the asserted cases of "tautologies" and "solecisms" in order to obtain a correct notion of the soundness and carefulness of his methods of work, and to guard the reader against the fear that we are dealing as unfairly with Dr. Abbott as he had dealt with 2 Peter.

By "tautology" Dr. Abbott does "not mean the mere repetition of the same word or phrase to express the same thing. Euclid is not tautological." He means the barren repetition of "fine words"—due to "paucity of vocabulary" and the desire of an empty writer to "make the most of the handsome phrases which he has accumulated," whereby he is led, "having found a bright patch," "to insert it twice or thrice before he can bring himself to let it go." It is clear now, that the words adduced to prove such a tautology must be poetical and striking; above all, they must not be such as

can be shown to have been in natural and familiar use in the sense in which they occur in "the tautology." A very fair example of the kind of tautology meant Dr. Abbott adduces from an estimate of Lord Hobart's character which appeared shortly after the death of that statesman, in the *Madras Mail*. It will be sufficient for our purposes to quote the first paragraphs of it:

"The not uncommon (a, 1) *hand* of death has distilled from febrile wings from amongst a débris of bereaved relatives, friends, and submissive subjects into (b, 1) *the interminable azure of the past*, an unexceptionably finished politician and philanthropist of the highest specific gravity, who, only a few days ago, represented our Most Gracious Majesty the Queen in this Presidency.

"The *hand* of (a, 2) destiny has willed that he should be carried into the infinite (b, 2) *azure of the past*, when the (c, 1) *incipient* buds, and (d, 1) *symptoms* of his fostered love and hope for the (e, 1) *Oriental* element were observed to be gradually blossoming. The (e, 2) *Oriental* mind was just in the (c, 2) *incipient* stage of appreciating his noble mental and moral qualities, and consequently can only confine itself to a prediction of what his indefatigable zeal would have achieved for it, had he remained within the category of 'the survival of the fittest.'

Dr. Abbott thinks that 2 Peter is the same kind of Greek as this trash is English! We are not concerned now, however, with this already refuted and self-refuting charge, but only with the *tautologies*. These are marked by italics and figures in the above passage, and are all striking, either because they are figurative expressions, or intensely poetical expressions, or are used in strange senses. The only exception is, possibly, "*Oriental*," and that probably would not attract attention, or be noted as a tautology of this class, except in association with the others.

Now, Dr. Abbott thinks that in respect to its tautologies, 2 Peter ii. 14-20, is parallel to this; he admits, indeed, that the words there "are capable of being rendered into very simple English," but contends that "their use, and still more their repetition in this Epistle, would induce a Greek reader to form about it the same judgment that we naturally form about the 'Native Estimate.'" We might ask, Even were this true, what of it? Would this prove ignobility of soul or ignorance of Greek? Poverty of Greek vocabulary might be proved; a book-learned and half-understood vocabulary might be proved. But Dr. Abbott's

brief requires him to prove mental or moral unworthiness. It behoves us, rather, to ask, however, is it true? We can determine how the style of this Epistle would affect a Greek reader of say the last half of the first century A. D., only in two ways: 1, by observing how it actually affected the Greek readers who read it nearest to that time; and, 2, by noting whether the words thus "tautologically" used are of the same class that occur in the *Madras Mail* extract. Many Greek readers, sufficiently close to Peter's day to stand as examples, used this Epistle; some of them did not fail to observe the difference between its style and that of 1 Peter—a far more hidden phenomenon than this to which Dr. Abbott appeals. Yet none of them has seen this—which has been reserved to him to discover some eighteen centuries after the advent of the Epistle into an unbelieving and critical world. Again, the words used are found on examination to bear absolutely no real resemblance to those in the *Madras Mail* quotation; but, on the contrary, are used by 2 Peter in senses justified as simple and natural by either known usage or strong analogy.

Dr. Abbott's contention is that some of these words "are very rare in Greek literature;" and others, "though good classical Greek in themselves, are rare or non-existent in the New Testament." Elsewhere we learn that he deems a word not found elsewhere in the New Testament, or in the LXX., an uncommon word to the circle of ideas of a writer like 2 Peter, even though it be otherwise a common Greek word. But would the use of such words repetitiously be enough to convict a passage of being similar in style to the extract from the *Madras Mail*? Dr. Abbott seems to forget for the moment the kind of Greek he is dealing with, and the characteristics of the period to which it belongs. Winer¹ gives us, as the chief lexical peculiarities of Hellenistic Greek, as distinguished from classical, the mixture of dialects; great changes of sense in words; the *commingling* of poetical and other lofty words; changes of form; and an influx of newly made words, or of words new to the literary language. From these main characteristics of the kind of Greek occurring

¹ Winer's Grammar, etc., § 2; where a sufficient number of examples are given.

in 2 Peter, it is already apparent that Dr. Abbott has engaged in a rather difficult task, when he wishes to prove that its author has used his words in as ridiculous a way as the writer in the *Madras Mail*. That a word is a curious dialectic form, does not prove it was not in the commonest currency in Peter's day; that it occurs in the classics only in the loftiest of poetic speech, does not prove it was not the flattest prose in Peter's day; that old acquaintances are used in the most unheard of senses, or reappear in entirely strange dresses, or give way to utter strangers, obtained no one knows whence—all this would not only be no proof of ignorance of Greek in the author of a writing of this date, but is just what we are to look for and expect in him. It is just what we do find in all the writers of the time. Every one of the New Testament writers has his own $\alpha\piα\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\mu\epsilon\alpha$, absolute, or in the New Testament. Queer phenomena are continually cropping out. The same word, for instance, appears in only two places in all Greek literature; in both cases independently, and in both it is used with the utmost familiarity; or a word can be found only in a single passage in the totality of Greek writing, until it suddenly turns up in an inscription; or a familiar word is used by two widely separated authors, and by them only, in a new and strange sense. The period in which 2 Peter was composed, was, in a word, linguistically speaking, an unsettled age, and an age of transition. Language, as a literary vehicle, was in a ferment; the old vocabulary was no longer clung to jealously; popular phrases and forms of speech were clamoring for recognition, and each man did, in the way of choosing a vocabulary, pretty nearly what was right in his own eyes.

Nor is it possible to speak of the LXX. as almost the only mine from which the writers of the New Testament drew their vocabulary; their great mine was doubtless the popular usage of current speech, as distinguished from any written sources. Professor Potwin, in his very interesting papers on the New Testament vocabulary,¹ gives us a summary view of the matter, which may help us here. He estimates that the New Testament contains eight hundred and eighty-two (882) native Greek words

¹*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1880, pp. 653, seq.

not found anywhere until after Aristotle, or an average of about two to a page; and yet he has not counted merely dialectic forms, or slight changes of declension or pronunciation, or even the widest changes of meaning, so long as the form was preserved. Of these eight hundred and eighty-two words not found at all in the classical age, only some three hundred and sixty-three in all, or a little over *two-fifths*, are found in the LXX.

Only one conclusion can be drawn from such facts as these. It will require much more than the adduction of repetitions of words that are rare in the New Testament, or rare in the New Testament and LXX., or rare in Greek literature, to fasten such "tautologies" as occur in the *Madras Mail* extract on 2 Peter. The author of that Epistle ought to be given the benefit of the doubt that would necessarily arise in each case as to whether this or that word, known to us only as a rarely occurring word in Greek literature, or perhaps only as an intensely poetical one of the classical period, was not plain and familiar prose in his circle of acquaintances. It is another question whether he needs to ask for the benefit of this doubt. And we hasten to add that an examination of Dr. Abbott's chosen examples from 2 Peter will convince the sober reader that he does not. The "barren tautology of ~~five~~ words" is discovered to exist, not at all in 2 Peter's Greek, but only in Dr. Abbott's English representation of it. It is only by such a forced translation—proceeding by the resurrection of the etymological senses of derivatives and compounds, and the literal senses of figurative words which had acquired well-settled and simple derivative meanings—as would make any author ridiculous, that the "tautologies" can be found in 2 Peter at all. This may perhaps be made plain to the reader by placing Dr. Abbott's forced translation of the first of the two passages he adduces, side by side with another, not at all smooth, but which takes the words in justifiable senses, as the added notes will show. We trust the reader will carefully observe the effect. Any one who thought it worth his while, could readily make Dr. Abbott's own thoroughly clear English style muddy, by treating it as he has treated 2 Peter's. It is to be observed that the passage begins in the middle of a sentence :

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(a, 1) *Setting baits to catch souls*
 (b, 1) *unconfirmed*, having a heart practised of¹ greediness, and children of curse, having left the straight way, they went astray *having followed after*² the way of Balaam the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of iniquity,³ but had the *refutation*⁴ of his own⁵ *law-breaking*;⁶ a dumb beast of burden with the voice of a man (c, 1) *uttering a sound*,⁷ hindered the *maddishness*⁸ of the prophet. . . For (c, 2) *uttering sounds* of swelling things⁹ of vanity, in the lusts of the flesh by wanton acts they (a, 2) *set baits to catch* those who are in the least¹⁰ (d, 1) *fleeing away* from those who are spending their life in error; promising them freedom, being themselves slaves of corruption—for one is enslaved by that by which one is (e, 1) *defeated*. For if (d, 2) *having fled away* from the pollutions of the world by the *recognition*¹¹ of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but afterwards having been entangled in these things they are (e, 2) *defeated*, their last state is worse than the first.

¹ "A rare and pedantic use of the genitive" (Dr. A.). It will be enough in reply to refer to Winer, § 30-4.

² See *post.* ³ Ditto. ⁴ Cf. Job xxi. 4; xxiii. 2 (LXX.).

⁵ "The word *ἰδιος*, *private*, ought not to be used where there is no antithesis between what is one's own and another's; but the author is . . . fond of the abuse of this word" (Dr. A.). Perhaps, however, *ἰδιος* is not so unessential here as Dr. Abbott seems to think; there is a contrast between the "sin" of Balaam and of his ass. Balaam, supposing his ass to be stubborn and vicious, was punishing her for it, when the dumb beast spake and gave him a rebuke for his *own* sin. Neither is *ἰδιος* in ii. 22 unessential, as the careful reader will readily see.

⁶ Cf. Prov. v. 22; Ps. xxxvi. 7; common in classics (e. g., Polyb., Dion. Hal.). Hence, only rare in the New Testament.

⁷ See *post.* ⁸ Ditto.

⁹ "The use of *ιπέρογκα*, without the article, yet followed by a genitive, is bad Greek" (Dr. A.). Why? Cf. Winer (Moulton's Ed.), p. 235.

¹⁰ "The word *οὐλίγως* is rare, and most used in the phrase *οὐκ οὐλίγως, in no slight degree*, like our 'not in the least.' It probably means here: 'to some small extent'". True enough; *valeat tantum*.

¹¹ See *post.*

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. . . enticing unstable souls; having hearts practised in covetousness; children of cursing. They have left the straight way and are gone astray, following after the way of Balaam the son of Bosor who loved the wages of unrighteousness, but received a rebuke of his own transgression. The dumb beast of burden, speaking with the voice of a man, hindered the prophet's madness.

For, speaking great swelling things of vanity, they entice, in the lusts of the flesh, by wanton acts, those who are just escaping from them that pass their lives in error, promising them freedom, while they themselves are slaves of corruption; for one is enslaved by that by which he is overcome. For, if having escaped the pollutions of the world through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but having become again entangled in them, they are overcome, their last state is become worse than their first.

Relegating to the foot notes all notice of words and phrases which have been forced from their obvious senses, in order to give the passage as a whole the appearance of the *Madras Mail* extract, we confine ourselves here to the cases of “tautology.” Five of these are adduced, to which three more, marked as repeated elsewhere than in this passage, are to be added (marked 2, 3, and 11 above), amounting to eight in all. It is observed with reference to them that while in the left hand column they bear a strange appearance, as they stand in the right hand column they appear natural enough, and their repetition ceases to strike upon the ear unpleasantly or even markedly. Their “tautological” character (in Dr. Abbott’s sense), then, depends on the necessity of looking at them from the standpoint of the left hand column, and the real question before us is: Are they fitly represented by the translation given in the right hand column? If no violence has been done to them in this translation, then violence has been done to 2 Peter by Dr. Abbott. Let us take a brief view of the usage of the words involved.

1. (a) *Setting baits to catch.* This is the translation which Dr. Abbott offers of the word *δελεάζειν*, which he further informs us is used only once elsewhere in the New Testament. But is it justifiable to dig up the literal sense of the word here? or has its metaphorical sense a recognised simple and no longer figurative meaning? The primitive *δέλεαρ* (*cf.* *δόλος*), meaning “a bait,” has itself a settled metaphorical sense, as in Plutarch, *De Ser. Num. Vind.*, *τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὥσπερ δέλεαρ ἵξελκειν* [*ἀνθρώπους*]; and Plato, *Tim.*, lxix. 6: “Pleasure, the greatest *incitement of evil*” (Jowett). The derivative verb *δελεάζειν* means, in accordance with its form, 1, *literally*, to bait, *i. e.* either to put on the hook as bait or to entice or catch by bait; and 2, *metaph.*, to bait—to entice. In this, its metaphorical sense, it obtained great currency, always *in sensu malo*; and, as it became common, lost its figurative implication. The literal sense is already out of sight in such passages as Demosthenes, pp. 241-2: *βαστῶντι καὶ σχολῆ δελεάζόμενον* (by all means compare the context), and Philo. *q. omn. lib. prob.* § 22 (cited by Grimm), *πρὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαίνεται ἡ ἴφ' ἡδονῆς δελεάζεται*. In the only one other New Testament passage in which the word occurs, the resurrection of the literal sense would even introduce confusion: James i. 14, “But each is tempted by being drawn out and having baits set by his own lust.” The order of the words here, *ἵξελκόμενος* *first*, and *δελεάζόμενος* *second*, demonstrates that the latter is used in total neglect of its literal sense, and therefore

in no sense figuratively, but only as a current expression for "enticing." To insist on translating the word in 2 Peter, "setting baits to catch," is the same as to insist on giving *dilapidate* its original sense of *scattering stones* in such a passage as this. "The patrimony of the bishopric of Oxon was much dilapidated" (Wood).¹ 2 Peter simply uses a common Greek word, not unknown in the New Testament in its most natural, common, and obvious sense; his repeated use of it in the course of four verses is neither strange nor significant when once we recognise the commonness of the word and the naturalness of the sense.

2. (b.) *unconfirmed*. The word here is *ἀστηρίκτοι*, which occurs in 2 Peter alone in the New Testament. It is rare also in the classics, cf. Longin. *de Subl.*, 2. 2., and Musaeus, 295 ("the *unstable* deeps and watery bottoms of the sea"). It may or may not have been a somewhat rare word in St. Peter's day. Certainly its use at 2 Peter ii. 14, iii. 16, cannot be called "tautological," and can occasion no surprise. It is at worst a vivid mode of speech. And it is worthy of note that words cognate with *στηρίζω* (Luke xxii. 32) are favorites with Peter and seem to have had peculiar significance to him: cf. 1 Peter v. 10; 2 Peter i. 12; iii. 17, and SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, 1882, p. 69. note 1.

3. (2) *having followed after*. The word here is *ἐξακολούθεῖν*, concerning which Dr. Abbott remarks truly enough that it is used here, i. 16 and ii. 2, only, in the New Testament. This fact has, however, absolutely no significance, unless the word itself is either rare or peculiar in some way. It is, on the contrary, however, an exceedingly common word, whether in the LXX. (e.g., Isa. lvi. 11; Sir. v. 2; Amos ii. 4; Job xxxi, 9, etc.), or the writers of the *κοινὴ* (e.g., Josephus, Polybius, Plutarch), or of the early Church (e.g., Testt. xii. Patt., p. 644). It is used by 2 Peter in three separate (though only slightly divergent) senses, all of which are justified as natural and current by other writers. (Cf. Grimm's analysis of the word.)

4. (3) *the wages of iniquity*, *μισθὸν ἀδικίας*, "repeated," says Dr. Abbott, "from ii. 13," and but once used elsewhere in the New Testament, "namely, in the Acts (i. 18) in a speech of St. Peter, whence it has been probably borrowed by our author." We are at somewhat of a loss to understand what is thought to be proved by this. If there is anything curious or "fine-wordy" or pedantic about this phrase, then how account for its use by the genuine Peter (Acts i. 18, for we understand Dr. Abbott to accept that as "a speech of St. Peter")? at the least, then, this use, pedantic or not, is common to Peter and 2 Peter, and is a mark of the Petrine origin of this Epistle just in proportion as it is strange and unusual. On the other hand, if this phrase is not strange in Acts, why is it strange here? We have no wish to haggle over the point whether 2 Peter actually borrows the phrase from Acts, and the less so as it

¹Or, "Christ took our physically dilapidated nature" [Hodge].

seems certain that Acts was published some five or six years earlier than 2 Peter, and verses 18 and 19 of Acts i. do not appear to us part of Peter's speech. This much, however, is clear: in Luke's words we have an example of the same phrase that is here held to be "fine-wordy" and pedantic. Essentially the same phrase occurs also in 2 Macc. viii. 33; while *μισθός* in a bad sense is common in Greek literature (*cf. e. g.*, Calim. *Hymn. in Dian.*, 263, "For neither did Atreides boast in a small *μισθός*"; Eur. *Hipp.*, 1050, the *μισθός* due to an impious man, etc.).

5. (c) *uttering a sound*, *φθέγγομαι*. Dr. Abbott falls into a slight error in saying (p. 206) that this word does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament; it occurs *in a precisely similar sense* in Acts iv. 18: "charged them not at all to 'utter a sound' or teach in the name of Jesus." This fact is fatal to the adduction of the word here as pedantic or strange in the simple sense of "speak." Add that it is common in this same sense in the LXX.; *cf.* Job xiii. 7, *ἐναντί δὲ αὐτοῦ φθέγγεσθε δόλον* ("utter a sound" of guile?); Wisdom i. 8: "no one 'uttering a sound' of wicked things." Sir. xiii. 22. *Cf.* Hdian, iv. 6, 12; Xen. Com., ii. 7; Mem., iv. 2, 6. Certainly, as we go on, we become more and more amazed at the items which must be adduced to prove pedantic tautology—if it be proved at all.

6. (d) *fleeing away from*, *ἀποφεύγειν*, used in New Testament in 2 Peter i. 4; ii. 18, 20, only. For the construction with the genitive (as in 2 Peter i. 4) *cf.* *ἐκφεύγειν* in Xen. An. 1, 3, 2, and the simple verb in Philoct., 1034. For the construction with the accusative as in our present passage, *cf.* Batr., 42, 47; Theogn., 1159; Hdt., i. 1; Plato *Apol.*, 39 A.; Dem., 840, 8; Plato *Tim.*, 44, c.; Xen. *Mem.*, 3, 11, 8. The sense in which 2 Peter uses the word is sufficiently illustrated by Plato *Apol.*, 39 A.: "For neither in war nor yet at law ought any man to use every way of *escaping* death" (Jowett); Plato *Tim.*, 44 c.: "And *escapes* the worst disease of all" (Jowett). As a pedant and fine writer 2 Peter's author can certainly be content to stand alongside of Plato.

7. (e) *defeated*, *ηττάσθαι*; not found elsewhere in New Testament, (*cf.* 2 Cor. xii. 13), but not, therefore, necessarily rare, pedantic, or ignoble. *Cf.* Isaiah liv. 17: "And every voice that shall rise up against thee unto judgment,—them all *ηττήσεις*"; Josephus Ant., I. 19, 4, *ἔρωτι τῆς παιδὸς ηττηθεῖς*. The word is common in the profane Greek, and 2 Peter's use of it is in no sense strange or unwonted.

8. (11) *recognition*, *ἐπιγνωσίς*; "repeated above, I. 2, 3, 8, but the word is common in St. Paul's Epistles," and, we may add, in exactly the same sense that it occurs in here: *cf.* Rom. i. 28; Eph. iv. 13; Col. i. 10, etc. And thus just as we reach the climax of our wonder at what Dr. Abbott is able to adduce as tautologies like those of the *Madras Mail* extract, we reach the end of his enumeration.

The candid reader who has taken the trouble to read through

what we have thus thrown into small print, can certainly be trusted to bring in the verdict of "not guilty" to the charge of "tautology" as urged by Dr. Abbott. We must remember, however, that our author does not stop at the charge of "tautology;" that charge is, indeed, in reality only subsidiary to the farther one, that the author of the Epistle is full of the "vulgar pedantry" of forcing in the "fine words" of his vocabulary everywhere, without really understanding their meaning, and even of coining other "fine words" from the base metal of his own vain and pompous ignorance. We have seen already a sample of what he means by this in the passage we have quoted above from his translations of 2 Peter. That was not, however, quite a full sample; let us look further.

Dr. Abbott declares that the use of such words as *παραφρονία* (ii. 16), *κανσοίμενα* (iii. 10), *κίλισμα* (ii. 22), *ἐξέραμα* (ii. 22), *ταρταρώσας* (ii. 4), are "exactly parallel" to "gairish," "cognoscence," "sickness," in such Indian English as: "He had one and uniform way of speaking. He made no gairish of words;" "bolstering up the decision of the Lower Court with his sapience and legal acumen and cognoscence;" "on multitudinous¹ occasions, when the hope and affiance of the clients of Justice Mookerjee *toto cælo* suspended on his pleading, and he was absent from court on account of some sickness, he even on such a day came and pleaded their causes, when they importuned him to do so." He even thinks that "such idiomatic blunders" as "inducing [the Court] to his favor," and "their hope suspended *toto cælo* on his pleading" may be fairly matched by the corresponding blunders, *μνήμην ποιεισθαι* (i. 15), *σπουδὴν πᾶσαν παρεισενάγκαντες* (i. 5), the omission of the article (ii. 8, iii. 10, 12), and the use of *օγδοος* (ii. 5). "As for the misuse of *βλέμμα* (ii. 8), it can be matched with nothing so justly as the passage of the Bengalee writer in which he describes Mr. Justice Mookerjee as 'remaining *sotto voce* till half-past four in the evening.'" This arraignment is certainly thorough-going, and, if in accordance with facts, opens up a new and hitherto unsuspected characteristic of 2 Peter; not, certainly, inconsistent with its inspiration and authority, but, at all events, startling to one

¹Cf. Macbeth II., ii., 62.

who has been accustomed to read it reverently. It behoves us to test the charge somewhat in detail.

Let us begin with the word *παραφρονία* as one already in a sense before us.¹ Dr. Abbott tells us that the word—"of which Wahl produces no other instance in Greek literature"—"is probably bad Greek for *παραφροσίνη*, as bad as the Indian-English 'sickishness' for 'sickness.' " The facts in this account are, that no instance of the use of this word seems as yet to have turned up in profane Greek or elsewhere in sacred Greek, and that *παραφροσίνη* is used by classical writers to express the notion plainly intended here. Its analogy with "sickishness" seems to be confined to this—that both words are formed on a correct analogy, cf. "foolishness" (1 Cor. i. 18) and *εἰδαιμωνία*. The word "sickishness" does exist in English, but in a different sense from that in which the Hindoo used it, having acquired its meaning from "sickish" in the sense of "nauseating" (cf. "the sickishness of the taste"); the badness of the Indian-English consists, therefore, in the use of a word in a sense possible derivatively, but utterly incongruous with its known usage. We are struck with the incongruity at once in reading the passage, and pronounce it bad English. On what ground, on the other hand, we can pronounce *παραφρονία* bad Greek, is not apparent. It is regularly formed; its sense is consonant with both its root-meaning and form; it suggests no incongruous action. The mere fact that it is not known to occur elsewhere in Greek literature could only prove it to be rare (literary) Greek, certainly not bad Greek. Are we to stamp every *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* as bad Greek? It is far from an impossible supposition that the word was in exceedingly common use in popular speech, and only crops up here in literature. On the other hand, we see no reason why Peter should not have coined it; it is good metal. Nor is it hard to see why he should have adopted here even a rare word instead of a more common one fitted equally to his sense, or even coined a new one for his purpose. He wished a word assonant with *παρανοία*: "but obtained a rebuke for his own *παρανοία*; the dumb ass, speaking in man's voice, hindered the prophet's *παραφρονία*." If Dr. Abbott thinks it unworthy of

¹See above, p. 406.

an apostle or sensible man to choose a little-used or coin a new word for such a purpose, he will be obliged to sit aloft on some misty height in literary loneliness. Few writers, whether in the New Testament or out of it, scorn such "pedantry." Is Dr. Abbott prepared, for instance, to condemn Paul's *κατάκριμα . . . δικαιώμα* (Rom. v. 16, *cf.* also verse 18)? or Mr. J. A. Symonds' "Anti-christ . . . Antiphysis?"¹ If 2 Peter falls on account of this word, he falls in a great company.

The word *καυσοίμενα* occurs in 2 Peter iii. 10, 12, only in the N. T.; it does not occur in the LXX.; and seems to be found in the classics only late, and in the sense of "to be feverish," "to be in a state of fever" (Dioscorides and Galen). Hence Dr. Abbott translates here "elements in fever heat shall be dissolved," "elements in fever heat are to be melted." Is this fair? Note: 1. The sense of "to be feverish" is late; it seems not to occur earlier than Dioscorides (c. 100 A. D.). 2. That sense is undoubtedly a *derivative* sense, the natural sense of the word, and therefore its primitive sense, being "to burn intensely." 3. All its cognates have this primitive sense, although several of them, such as *καῦμα*, *καυματίω*, *καυματόθης*, *καῖσος* (primitive of *καυσόματι*), acquired a secondary derivative sense as applied to fevers. How Dr. Abbott can think he is dealing scientifically with a word which occurs four times, in two pairs, separated by both a century of time and the technicalities of the subjects treated, when he tries to force the derivative sense used technically by physicians of 100 A. D. +, on the term so used a century and a half earlier as to demand the primitive sense of the same word, passes our comprehension. He would be scarcely passing beyond this were he to attempt to translate its cognates in Rev. xvi. 8, 9, thus: "And the fourth poured out his bowl upon the sun; and it was given unto it to put men in a fever heat with fire. And men were put in fever heat with great fever heat." How would it do to say

¹*Age of the Despots*, p. 412: "And now in the pontificate of Alexander, that memorable scene presented to the nations of the modern world a pageant of Antichrist and Antiphysis—the negation of the gospel and of nature." *Antiphysis* appears to be a coinage of Mr. Symonds; although the adjectives *antiphysic* and *antiphysical* (Ogilvie) seem to be in use, medical and otherwise. The Greeks used *παράφυσις* (*cf.* Ro. i. 26).

“parched corn” really meant “fever-heated corn,” on the strength of the common phrases “parched lips,” “parched brow”? Would it not be as fair to translate Dioscorides and Galen by 2 Peter’s usage as *vice versa*?

The words *κυλισμόν* and *ἐξέραμα*, (ii. 22) naturally go together. Dr. Abbott’s criticism is as follows: “For the word ‘vomit’ [in Proverbs xxvi. 11; 2 Peter] substitutes the word *ἐξέραμα* (‘hardly to be found elsewhere,’ Alford, but found by Wahl in Dioscorid., vi. 19), a technical term of medicine derived from *ἐξεράω* ‘to evacuate by purge or vomit,’ so that the passage may be rendered, ‘The dog having returned to his own *evacuation*!’ Further, [2 Peter] supplements this quotation by a reference to a sow returning to its wallowing; and here he introduces a word (*κυλισμόν*) not recognised by Liddell and Scott. . . . It may be rendered ‘wallowance.’ [2 Peter] also uses about the sow a word generally restricted to human beings, ‘having washed herself or bathed.’ The whole passage will then run thus: ‘The dog having turned to his own *evacuation*, and the sow, *having bathed*, to her *wallowance*.’” A precious piece of criticism! Let us suppose “evacuation” fitly represents *ἐξέραμα*, does ignobility of heart or mind result in the writer? Suppose he has adapted to a more common use a technical medical term, has he done more than Mr. William Wallace in the following sentence in description of the historian Alison (*The Academy* for Dec. 23, 1882): “Called to the Scottish Bar, he made fair way both in law and literature, being industrious, *euplectic*,² accomplished, and self-confident.” If, then, the argument is a case of *non sequitur*, even if the facts are true, what becomes of it when the facts asserted are themselves brushed away? Yet, in the interests of truth and fairness, we must ruthlessly brush away the “facts.” We have here, indeed, a parallel case to *κανσοίμενα*, with the difference that the matter is even plainer. The verb *ἐξεράω* is defined as “to evacuate by purge or vomit,” and certainly was used technically as a medical term. But it certainly was not a *purely* technical term (was Dr. Abbott misled by the technical phraseology of the Lexicon’s definition?); that it was a common popular word is proved by the fact that it

¹Used also by Carlyle and a few others in an untechnical way.

even passed into a popular metaphorical sense—"to empty" (*e. g.*, the ballot urn of its contents [Arrian], the lungs of air, a vessel of water, etc.). This growth in popular usage necessarily presupposes a common use of the word in its primitive sense; to translate it by the English word "evacuate," thus, gives a false impression save in this particular; "evacuate," like *ἐξεράω*, leaves the question of *manner* open. The noun *ἐξέραμα* seems to be known in the classics only in Diocorides vi. 19, and Eust. Opuse., 248, 91. The cognates *ἐξέρασις* and *ἐξέραστής*, both in the sense of *vomiting* (as distinguished from *purgating*) also occur in Eust. The word was thus one of a class used to denote *vomiting*. What proof is there that it was a technical word? Just this: out of three times in which the word occurs, it is used twice by physicians! Is that a broad enough base for an induction? Another fact is now to be noted: in Levit. xviii. 28, where the LXX. reads *προσοχθίσῃ* (="abhor," losing the figure), Aquila translates the Hebrew word נִקְרָא by *ἐξεράω*; now in Prov. xxvi. 11, the words are נִקְרָא-לְעֵגָל, which 2 Peter takes the liberty of translating by *ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα*. Certainly, if Aquila can be allowed without horrible charges to translate the Hebrew verb "to vomit" by the verb, 2 Peter may be allowed to translate the noun "vomit" by the corresponding noun. Dr. Abbott seems to be indeed in this dilemma: either 2 Peter is translating Proverbs xxvi. 11 himself, or repeating it in its popularly current form. If the former, then Aquila justifies him in the word he uses as the Greek equivalent of נִקְרָא. If the latter, then *the people* are responsible for *ἐξέραμα*, and it is proved to be used in a current common sense. At all events and in any case, it is somewhat high-handed to take a word used three times—all in the sense of *vomit*—twice by physicians and once by the populace or a popular writer, and on the strength of these facts declare it to be a purely technical medical word.¹

¹No doubt it will seem natural to the reader to suppose that Dr. Abbott's method of proving words to be technical medical words is unexampled among students of Greek. As a matter of fact, however, it is not quite so. By the same process by which he makes *κανθόμαται* and *ἐξέραμα* appear to be technical medical terms, the Rev. Wm. Kirk Ho-

With reference to *κυλισμός*, which is used here only in the N. T. (*cf.* *κυλίειν*, in Mark ix. 20), but occurs in Hippiatr. 204. 4, and in Theodotion, in Prov. ii. 18 (which brings it into the circle of 2 Peter's author's training), it is doubtless sufficient to observe (1) that the author of 2 Peter did not invent it; (2) it may have been a popular word, cropping up here in a popular proverb, and, indeed, this is by all odds the most likely supposition; and (3) there is no particular reason for preferring "wallowance" to "wallowing," as its translation. The careful Grimm feels no hesitation in translating it "*volutatio*"; and although verbals in —*μος* regularly express "an abstract notion of energy embodying the *intransitive* notion of the verb" (Jelf., § 332, B., p. 334, Vol. I.), yet that rule neither decides for —*ance* instead of —*ing*, in the *intransitive* verb "to wallow," nor is it of uniform application in actual usage. On the whole phrase, *cf.* Epictetus' phrase, *ἐν βορβόρῳ κυλίεσθαι*, as quoted by Grimm under *Βόρβορος*. The verb *ζοίω* (which occurs six times in the N. T.) is, indeed, nearly always used of persons, but not invariably; so that the usage in this passage, while not the most usual, is a perfectly natural one. Accordingly, the verse is found to be such as would strike a Greek ear about as the following strikes an English ear: "The true proverb: the dog turning to its own vomit again, and the sow that had washed, to wallowing in the mire." What concerns further Dr. Abbott's notion, that the fact that the three words, *καυσόμενα*, *ξέραμα*, and *κυλισμόν*, do not seem to occur after 2 Peter in Greek literature until about A. D. 60, has any tendency to prove a late date for 2 Peter, proceeds on his forgetfulness of the chief characteristic of the age in a lexical point of view, and needs no remark here.

Little need be said with regard to *ταρταρώσας* (2 Peter ii. 4). It is easy to confess that it is not found in the N. T. elsewhere, nor bart, LL. D. (*The Medical Language of St. Luke*, etc., Dublin,) makes *οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Πωμαῖοι* of Acts ii. 10, and *ἀνελίφθη* of Acts i. 2, medical terms—the former on the strength of the use of the verb *ἐπιδημέω* (to be *ἐπίδημος*) of epidemic diseases (*e. g.*, Hipp. *Progn.*, 46), and the latter on the strength of the medical use of the verb *ἀναλαμβάνω* as equivalent to "to restore to health and strength," etc. Dr. Hobart, indeed, presents quite a number of instances quite as bad as Dr. Abbott's.

anywhere in classical Greek; and as easy to admit that even its primitive *τάρταρος* is never found in the N. T. or the LXX., and may therefore be, in somewhat strong language, said to be “alien to both.” That it was capable of being used by Jewish lips is, however, plain from, say, Josephus c. Apion ii. 33; although it is probably true that the N. T. avoids the use of the word “Tartarus,” in order to avoid suggesting heathen associations. The *verb* is, however, a different matter. And although it is not found elsewhere in this short form, it is certainly impossible to say, in the face of the common *καταταρταρώω*, that it is “uncouth,” “almost as uncouth as it would be in English to speak of ‘helling’ some one, instead of ‘sending him to hell.’” That this is the very opposite of the fact, the current Greek expression “down-helling” some one is a standing and convincing witness. We have before us, indeed, only one of the well known, though somewhat rare, cases (like *θεατρίζειν* for *ἐκθ.*, or *δειγματίζειν* for *παραδειγ.*), in which the later Greek (*i. e.*, probably the *popular* Greek) preferred, contrary to its usual custom, the uncompounded to the compounded form. See Moulton’s Winer, p. 25, note 4. In connexion with *ταρταρώω*, however, Dr. Abbott makes much of another “curious” word, *σειροῖς*, which he thinks, “to a well-educated Greek,” would convey the meaning of “store-pit,” and on the strength of which he proposes the following translation of ii. 4: “If God spared not angels when they sinned, but having *helled* them, delivered them to *store-pits* of darkness.” What can be gained by such a mysterious appeal to the “well-educated Greek,” in the face of Hesychius’ recognition of the sense of “prison” for the word, it is difficult to divine. The word, used here only in the New Testament, and not at all in the LXX., is tolerably common in the classics in the spellings *σειρός* (Pollux, Plut., Varro, Demosthenes [v. 5]), *σιρρός*, and more properly *σιρός*; and its standing sense seems to be PIT. This seems clearly its primitive sense. It has three secondary meanings: (1) a PIT for keeping corn, and hence a magazine or store-pit. So Eur., Anaxim., Demosth. (2) A PIT for catching wild animals, and hence a pit-fall. So Longus. (3) A PIT for keeping prisoners. So Hesychius tells us, giving “prison” as one of its meanings, and

informing us that the Laconians used a word, *σιρία*, for “safe-keeping.” While it is to be freely admitted, therefore, that the word was most correctly used in literature in that one of its secondary senses which expressed “store-pit,” it is certainly not clear that we must translate “store-pit” in 2 Peter any more than in Longus; or that its context would not determine the sense naturally and simply to “an educated Greek,” provided he was educated enough. To an “uneducated” Greek, on the other hand, who might well know more of “pits” of the (2) and (3) kinds than of the (1), the suggestion might be *more* natural of a pit-fall or prison-house than of a store-room or magazine.

Turning from single words to phrases, we somewhat wonder that *μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι* is singled out for the first strictures on 2 Peter’s idiom; nor is it very consonant to speak in one place strongly: this phrase is a blunder, corresponding to “inducing [the Court] to his favor” (p. 210), and in another mildly: “it is not known to be used in the author’s sense (Thuc. II. 54, is ambiguous).” Thucid. II. 54 ought to be much more than ambiguous in order to justify the statement. To us, the probability is, that Thuc. uses the phrase in just 2 Peter’s sense; though, perhaps, we can never be certain about it. At all events, does anybody suppose that if we should blot out 2 Peter i. 15, and then prove that Thuc. ii. 54 took the phrase as 2 Peter does here, Dr. Abbott would push the charge against him which he here raises against 2 Peter? If not, why not? It is not, however, so very unexampled that a phrase commonly used in the sense of “make mention,” should sometimes be used in that of “entertain recollection.” We need only recall the kindred phrase, *μνήμην ἔχειν*, which occurs in both senses. Cf. Hdt., i. 14; Soph. *Eleet.*, 346; Plato *Phaed.*, 251. D.

“Still more objectionable,” we are told (and if objectionable at all, we do not wonder at the “still more”), “is (i 5) *σπονδήν πᾶσαν παρεισενέγκαντες*.” Josephus and Diod. Sic. both use the phrase with the uncompounded verb, and rightly enough. “But the sonorous extra syllable added by our author makes nonsense of the phrase, by converting it into ‘contribute all zeal in an indirect manner’; or ‘as a secondary or subsequent consideration.’ ”

And then the conjecture is hazarded, that what led “our author” “so superfluously astray,” was the grandiose sound of the word and the reminiscence of $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\cdot\ell\delta\iota\sigma\alpha\upsilon$ in the parallel passage in Jude. Let us, however, remember the full pail and dead fish, and be sure of our facts before we explain them. Is the author so clearly astray? The reader who will read Huther or Alford *in loe*, may be in a fair condition for deciding. He who will study the word criticised will be in better condition. Why are we told that either the idea of *indirectness* or *subordination* is expressed by the $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha$? *Subsequenee* may be *implied*, but what is expressed is simply *addition*, *along-sided-ness*. Compare the use of $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\bar{\eta}\bar{\lambda}\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ in Rom. v. 20, when the sense is not “came in between” or “subordinately,” but simply “beside,” “along with.” When sin entered, then law had also entered; they came side by side. This thought, which is the natural thought of our phrase, too, is very consonant with its context; and the only one who is astray is the expositor.

The omission of the article before the word $\delta\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma$, in ii. 8, and before *oipavoi* and *στοιχεῖα*, in iii. 10, 12, seems to Dr. Abbott very blameworthy indeed. In the first case, it is very doubtful whether the article is rightly omitted, seeing that it is contained in all MSS. except B. But letting that pass, its omission can cause no surprise and produce no difficulty; we would simply read, instead of, “for that righteous man dwelling among them by sight and hearing, vexed his righteous soul day by day,” rather, “for dwelling as a righteous man among them, he by sight and hearing vexed his righteous soul day by day,” wherein the $\delta\bar{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma$ is taken as predicate, instead of subject, perhaps with an adverbial effect, as Dr. Abbott suggests; but perhaps, however, not. We do not assert that this is the way it ought to be taken; we merely assert that it is a way that it might be regularly taken, which is enough to void Dr. Abbott’s objection of all force. If any one cares to know, however, how we understand the passage, we have no objection to telling him. We think the article is probably to be omitted; and then the passage reads as follows: “*for dwelling among them to both sight and hearing*¹ *a righteous man, he day*

¹Literally, “in appearance and report.”

by day vexed his righteous soul with their lawless deeds." Many advantages flow from such an understanding of the passage: from an involved it becomes a simple passage; and to pass over the rest and come to one related to our present subject, it takes $\beta\eta\acute{e}\mu\alpha$ in its most natural sense, and hence forever destroys one of Dr. Abbott's chief charges against the purity of Peter's style. We do not assert or allow that $\beta\eta\acute{e}\mu\alpha$ cannot be used for the "sense of sight;" nor do we admit that on any other understanding of the passage, 2 Peter lies open to such charges as Dr. Abbott brings against it. The Greek writers do, however, use the word rather in the sense of "appearance," "expression," than in that of "sight," "seeing;" *i. e.*, rather of the objective than the subjective "look" of a person (in the plural the word means the "eye" itself); and, although the transition from the objective to the subjective is very easy, and its meaning would argue no unworthiness, ignorance, or pedantry in the author, yet it is perhaps better to take his words in their more obvious and natural sense, and understand him to say that Lot gave every proof to his neighbors—both to their eyes and ears—of his righteous character.

The absence of the article before $\sigma\tau\omega\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha$, needs no remark, as it seems paralleled by Wisdom vii. 17: "He gave me to know $\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\omega\kappa\theta\sigma\mu\omega\kappa\acute{e}\iota\epsilon\eta\acute{e}\mu\gamma\acute{e}\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\omega$. The article's omission before $o\acute{i}pav\omega\acute{i}$, is in general quite regular (Moulton's Winer, p. 150) and is only peculiar here because it does not elsewhere occur before the *nominative case*. This cannot argue, in a case like the present, any ignorance or pedantry or barrenness, however, but is only to be noted (as Winer does) as one fact of language. This class of words, like $\eta\lambda\omega\acute{o}\acute{\iota}\omega$, $\gamma\eta$, $o\acute{i}pav\omega\acute{i}$, etc., quasi-proper names, are, indeed, in a transitional and unsettled state in N. T. Greek, and may and do take or omit the article according to the individual's fancy or training or mode of looking upon the object. Thus, this very word $o\acute{i}pav\omega\acute{\iota}\omega$ is treated differently by the various N. T. writers: the Apocalypse stands at one extreme, 2 Peter at the other. In the Apocalypse it always takes the article, in the Synoptists it is prevailingly omitted in certain phrases, in Paul regularly in those phrases, in 2 Peter it is omitted in new cases.

There is no more reason to object to or feel surprise over one writer's mode of viewing the matter than another's.

We do not feel drawn to join earnest issue, finally, with Dr. Abbott concerning the use of “*eighth*” before instead of after its noun in ii. 5. Greek order was more flexible than he seems to imagine; and we may content ourself with simply referring to the commentators on the passage, and to Winer (Moulton's Ed.), p. 312, where everything unusual or strange in the phrase is discussed and illustrated. A reference to Alford's note on i. 9, is sufficient to set aside the strictures offered on $\mu\nu\omega\pi\alpha\zeta\epsilon\nu$ (see also Lumby); and we can well content ourselves with declaring at this point that the difficulty found with the use of $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\gamma\sigma\omega$ (i. 12) is *wholly* imaginary.

And so it appears that these frightful ghosts of “barren pedantry” are like other ghosts—they need but calm looking at to disappear. The negative character of an examination such as we are carrying on, is apt to leave a false impression on some minds, and to weaken their confidence in an Epistle about whose good character there must be so much discussion. Cæsar's wife ought to be above all attack and defence. Ought not, however, such a discussion as the foregoing to have rather an opposite effect? Without mercy, ruthlessly, and even cruelly, 2 Peter has been plunged into the caustic acid of Dr. Abbott's sharp criticism, and as it lies in the seething fluid, we are boldly told that we need not even look for it: it is dissolved and has passed away. But we look, see, reach down, and draw it out; and lo! the pure gold has not so much as felt the biting touch of its bath. Out of the fiery furnace it comes without even the smell of smoke upon it. The result is negative. We have only shown that *these* objections are not fatal to the book; but there is a positiveness about it, after all. The argument based on an ignobility in the style of 2 Peter, framed with learning and pleaded with skill, as it has been, certainly entirely fails; and its failure means simply the failure of all arguments against the Epistle's genuineness, drawn from the phenomena of its style.

There is, indeed, one refuge left. Though it is not ignoble, it may at least be hopelessly diverse from that of 1 Peter. Dr.

Abbott is too good a general not to supplement his chief argument with such a contention (pp. 215, *seq.*). We have already seen how he frames this contention.¹ But its great support falls with the falling of the charge of ignobility; for Dr. Abbott's first point, here too, is that 2 Peter cannot be by the author of 1 Peter, because the latter Epistle has no trace in its style of the plagiarism, tautology, and pedantry that abound in the former. Beyond this he urges nothing which is new or which has not already been repeatedly fully answered. We do not permit ourselves to be drawn into this old discussion, but are content here with quoting the true words of so liberal a critic as Reuss: "On the theological and linguistic differences between the two Epistles, we lay no stress; the two Epistles are too short, have to do with wholly different circumstances, and especially present no direct contradictions; only if the Epistle is on other grounds proved to be un-genuine, can this also be brought into account;"² and with referring the reader especially to the most convincing discussion of the relation between the style of the two Epistles given by Prof. Lumby in the introduction to his Commentary.³

RELATION OF SECOND PETER TO JOSEPHUS.

The way is thus cleared for us to devote the remainder of our space to a discussion of, by all odds, the newest, most important, and most earnestly urged part of Dr. Abbott's argument—that which is founded on the relation between 2 Peter and the Antiquities of Josephus. Dr. Abbott is the inventor of this argument, and therefore may be, perhaps, credited with a certain measure of pardonable pride in his contemplation of it. Certainly he has made it a very striking argument, and certainly he expresses great confidence in it. He conceives that he has *demonstrated* that the author of the Epistle had read Josephus.⁴ Since the Antiquities of Josephus, from which the borrowing is made, were published in A. D. 93, it follows, in that case, with inevitable certainty, that 2 Peter could not have been written

¹ See above, pages 393, *seq.*

² Geschichte, u. s. w., Neue Test., § 270-2.

³ Speaker's Commentary, Vol. IV., pp. 228, *seq.*

⁴ *Expositor* (1882), Vol. 3, p. 61.

until after A. D. 93, and therefore cannot be by the Apostle Peter, and must needs be a forgery. Certainly, the evidence by which the dependence of 2 Peter on Josephus is thus "demonstrated," demands, therefore, our most earnest scrutiny. We ask the reader to follow us as we very baldly state the evidence as adduced by its discoverer, and then attempt to test its relevancy and validity.

I. *Dr. Abbott's statement of the evidence.* As a matter of course, the only evidence available is internal to the two writings compared ; and it is just as much a matter of course that it consists not of direct quotations of Josephus by 2 Peter, but of more hidden and subtle marks of literary dependence. As a matter of fact, the whole stress of the argument is laid upon one kind of evidence, namely, that which arises from the common possession by the two writers of a peculiar vocabulary, distributed in such a way in their writings as to suggest to the mind that 2 Peter, in penning his Epistle, must have had in his mind a very vivid reminiscence of certain assignable passages in Josephus. This main and central argument is, indeed, bolstered by two further considerations : the occurrence in the two writings of a couple of similar sentences which may be deemed parallels, and of a couple of common Haggadoth. But Dr. Abbott clearly assigns small value to either of these facts, and apparently would hardly consider them worth adducing in the absence of the more important marks of literary connexion. And this rightly enough ; for nothing can be clearer than that neither of them possesses the slightest force as evidence of literary connexion between the two writings. The Haggadoth, the common knowledge of which by Josephus and 2 Peter is supposed to point to borrowing of the latter from the former, concern the statements that Noah was a "herald of righteousness" (2 Peter ii. 5), and that Balaam's ass rebuked him (2 Peter ii. 16). What 2 Peter says may be read in the English version. Josephus' words are : Noah "being displeased at their deeds, and pained at their counsels, tried to persuade them to amend their lives and actions" (Antiq. I., 3. 1), and "the ass, having received a human voice, blamed Balaam as unjust, having no cause to find fault with it for its previous

services, yet now he inflicts blows on it, not understanding that now, in accordance with the purpose of God, he was being hindered," etc. (Antiq., IV., 6. 3). It is extremely doubtful whether any Haggadah needs to be assumed at the basis of the latter statement at all; it is very difficult to see wherein 2 Peter ii. 16 goes beyond the warrant of the account in Numbers xxi., and not easy to see that anything beyond it need be assumed beneath the account in Josephus. The Haggadah with reference to Noah, on the other hand, occurs in the Mishnah, in a form much closer to 2 Peter than Josephus' account is: "There rose up a herald for God in the days of the deluge; that was Noah" (Bereshith Rabba xxx. 6); and, indeed, also, in Clement of Rome (ix. 3). In both cases, thus, common sources of information underlay both 2 Peter and Josephus, covering the whole case; and, in general, any number of Haggadoth might be common to the two writings, without in the slightest degree suggesting dependence of one on the other, provided they were not the *invention* of one of them. By as much as it would be probable that they were current legends of the time, by so much could they fail to suggest direct literary connexion.

The pair of parallel sentences that are adduced are equally invalid for the purpose for which they are put forward, as will become plain on one moment's consideration. They are as follows: 2 Peter ii. 10, *κυριότητος καταφρονῶντας. τολμηταὶ κ. τ. λ.*, compared with Jos. B. J. iii. 9, 3, *τολμηταὶ καὶ θανάτου καταφρονῶντες*; and 2 Peter i. 19, *φα καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες*, compared with Josephus, Ant. xi. 6, 12, *οἵς καλῶς ποιήσετε μὴ προσέχοντες*. At first sight there is undoubtedly a certain strikingness in the close verbal resemblance of the passages. But a glance at the contexts is enough to dispel at once the delusion. Josephus' "Now these Jews, although they are exceedingly *daring and despisers* of death, are yet both unorganised and unskilled in wars, etc.," has little in common with 2 Peter's "The Lord knoweth how to . . . reserve the unrighteous under punishment to the day of judgment; and especially those going after the flesh in the lust of pollution and *despising* lordship. *Daring*, self-willed, they tremble not when blaspheming glories, etc." Clearly, the hypothesis of a quotation here on one side or

the other is out of the question; the collocation of the two very common words, *daring* and *despising*, is indeed striking, but not in such a way as to present more than a strongly marked illustrative passage. As a matter of fact, it has been quoted by all recent commentators as an illustrative passage, and has never suggested literary dependence to one of them. The same is even more clearly the case with the other parallel quoted. The phrase *καλῶς ποιεῖν* is a very common set form of speech, and is usually construed with participles (cf. e. g., Acts x. 33; Phil. iv. 14; 3 John 6); and *προσέχειν* is common in the sense in which it here occurs (cf. e. g., Heb. ii. 1). Absolutely, the only thing, then, common especially to Josephus and 2 Peter is that they each happen to need, in utterly different connexions, to construe the common phrase *καλῶς ποιεῖν* with this particular common participle. It is not such parallels as these which can be appealed to, to prove literary connexion. Two other phrases common to Josephus and 2 Peter might have been with equal propriety, but are not, introduced in this connexion; one (which has been mentioned above¹) is “bringing in [besides] all diligence” which is found also, however, in Diodorus and elsewhere, and thus is shown to be a current phrase, and the other is “following in the track of myths” in which we do find a rare contribution of perfectly common words. All four are simple but close illustrative parallels which cannot suggest literary connexion, but only community in the same current forms of speech; they have consequently all four been the common property of commentators for years, and have been uniformly used as illustrative and only as illustrative passages.² We must, therefore, refuse to allow any, even corroborative, weight to either of Dr. Abbott's supporting considerations, and insist on viewing and estimating the central tower of his argument in its own separate strength. If its masonry is not solid enough to enable it to stand without such props as these, it is right that it should fall.

¹P. 417.

²Such closely illustrative but by no means connected passages are continually turning up, and many of them are much closer than these; cf. e. g., with Rom. vii. 15, such a passage as this, from Epict. *Euclein.* ii. 26, 4: ὁ μὲν θέλει οὐ ποιεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ θέλει ποιεῖ.

The axioms on which the argument is built are as follows: The common possession of the same vocabulary by two writers is evidence of literary connexion between them. “Obviously, uncommon words are far more weighty than common” ones as evidence (p. 53). A word not found in the LXX. or elsewhere in the N. T. is uncommon to the circle of ideas of a writer like 2 Peter, even though it be otherwise a common Greek word (p. 54).¹ “The evidence of a *group of words* is far stronger than that of a multitude of single words, to show that one author has read another” (p. 52). If, then, we can find a common peculiar vocabulary in 2 Peter and Josephus, and especially if we find that these peculiar words occur in groups of narrow compass, we have very strong evidence of literary dependence of one on the other.

Dr. Abbott thinks we can find this very thing, and presents us with two instances of it. We transcribe and condense a statement of the case from his pages (pp. 56, *seq.*):

1. “Assuming that the author of the Epistle had read parts of Josephus, . . . he had probably read the short Introduction which describes the motives and objects of the work. . . . Now, the Introduction (Par. 3) declares (*a*) that the moral derived from the Jewish records is, that those who follow God’s will find success and happiness, whereas those who disobey find everything against them, and are involved in irremediable calamities (a thought repeated also in Par. 4); (*b*) Moses considered that the basis of all law was (Par. 4) insight into the *nature of God* ($\Theta\epsilon\omega\bar{\nu}$ $\phi\bar{\nu}\sigma\bar{\nu}$); (*c*) he exhibited (Par. 4) God in the possession of his virtue ($\bar{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\nu$), undefiled by degrading anthropomorphism; (*d*) he considered (Par. 4) that it was the duty of man to partake in this divine virtue; (*e*) the laws of Moses (Par. 4) contain nothing out of harmony with the *greatness* ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\bar{\lambda}\epsilon\iota\bar{\theta}\eta\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$) of God; (*f*) he kept from all unseemly myths and legends, though he might have easily cheated man (Par. 3) with *feigned* stories ($\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\bar{\alpha}\tau\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$); (*g*) he always assigned fitting actions to God’s power (Par. 3); (*h*) nor did he do as other lawgivers (Par. 4) who have *followed after fables* ($\mu\bar{\iota}\theta\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\xi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\omega}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\theta}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\varsigma}}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\varsigma}}$). The Epistle declares (*a*) that the moral of the stories of the fallen angels, of Noah, and of Lot, is (ii. 9), that the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to

¹Cf. p. 62, where a word rare or non-existent in N. T. and LXX. is said to be completely out of the author’s natural sphere.

keep the unrighteous unto punishment unto the day of judgment; (*g*) his divine *power* (*i. 3*) hath granted us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that called us (*d*) by his own glory and *virtue* (*i. 3*); that we may become (*d*) sharers in (*b*) the divine *nature*; false teachers shall arise to make merchandise (*ii. 3*) of men, with (*f*) *feigned* words ($\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\circ\iota\zeta\lambda\gamma\circ\iota\zeta$) but we (*e*) were eye-witnesses (*i. 16*) of the *greatness* ($\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\pi\circ\iota\zeta$) of Christ; and (*h*) in declaring it we did (*i. 16*) not *follow after* cunningly devised *fables* ($\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\circ\iota\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\kappa\circ\lambda\circ\lambda\circ\iota\zeta\sigma\alpha\tau\pi\circ\iota\zeta$)."
The two most important points here are those marked (*h*) and (*b*). In the former, note: $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\kappa\circ\lambda\circ\lambda\circ\iota\zeta\sigma\alpha\tau\pi\circ\iota\zeta$ though found in the LXX. is not found in the N. T. except here; $\mu\acute{\iota}\theta\circ\iota\zeta$ occurs four times in the Pastoral Epistles and nowhere else in the N. T., and not at all in the LXX. (except Sir. xx. 19, in the sense of "*tale*"); while neither LXX. nor N. T. contain the combination. Even the word added by 2 Peter ($\sigma\epsilon\sigma\phi\iota\mu\circ\lambda\circ\mu\circ\epsilon\circ\iota\zeta$) occurs but once in N. T. (2 Tim. iii. 15) and there in an opposite meaning, whereas it is found at least twice in Josephus in 2 Peter's sense (B. J. iii. 7, 20; iv. 2, 3). With reference to (*b*) note: to apply $\phi\acute{\iota}\circ\iota\zeta$ to God is not only a *usage* not found in the N. T. or LXX., but a *thought* alien to the Bible. The Greeks and Romans so spoke, but no single N. T. writer. The exact phrase is, however, found in Josephus' *Cont. Ap.* The other phrases in the passage are also noteworthy: $\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\circ\iota\zeta$ is found here only in the N. T. and LXX.; $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\iota}\circ\iota\zeta$ (singular) is applied to God only once in LXX. (Hab. iii. 2, where it means "*glory*"); $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\pi\circ\iota\zeta$ is found only twice each in N. T. and LXX., and only once in application to a divine person (Luke ix. 43). Now combine all these, and note the slighter points also, and note the cumulative character of the argument.¹

2. "If the author was attracted by this comparison between Moses, the truthful lawgiver of the Jews, and the truthful teachers of the Christians, it is natural that in writing the last utterances of St. Peter, he should turn his attention to the last utterances of Moses (Antiq. iv. 8. 2). There, Moses is said to have spoken (*a*) as follows (*τοιάδε*): 'Fellow soldiers and (*b*) sharers of our long hardship (*μακρᾶς κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας*) (where note the transposition), since I (*c*) am not *destined* (*οὐ μεῖλω*) to be your helper on earth, (*d*) I *thought it right* (*σίκαν ήγησάμην*) still to regard happiness for you and (*e*) *memory* (*μνήμην*) for myself. Do not set anything above (*f*) your *present customs* (*τοιμῶν τῶν παροντῶν*), (*g*) *despising* (*καταφρονήσαντες*) the (*h*) *reverence* (*εἰσεβείας*) which ye now feel for God; (*i*) thus will ye be never *able to be taken*

¹*Expositor*, as above, pp. 56-59.

(εἰνάλωτοι) by your enemies. God will be with you (j) *as long as* (ἐφ' ὅσον) you will have him for your leader. Listen, then, to your leaders, (k) *knowing that* (γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι) men learn to command by obeying. These things I say (l) at my *departure* from life (ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ζῆν), (m) not *recalling* them (εἰς ἀνάμνησιν φέρων) by way of reproach, but for your good, that ye may not (n) *through folly* degenerate.' With these compare: (a) *τοιᾶσδε* (i. 17 here alone in N. T. and LXX.); (b) *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως* (i. 4, where note the transposition similar to *μακρᾶς κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας* above); (c) *μελλόσω* i. 12 (v. r., οὐκ ἀμελήσω (?) οὐ μελλόσω, reading and meaning doubtful, *valeat tantum*); (d) *I think it right* (*δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι*) i. 13 (here only in N. T. and LXX.); (e) *μνήμην*, i. 15 (sense different from that of Josephus, but here only in N. T.); (f) *καταφρονοῦ τεξ* (ii. 10, in different context); (h) *εἰσέβεια* (four times in this Epistle, eight times in the Pastoral Epistles, only once in the rest of the N. T.); (i) *made for taking*, ii. 12 (εἰς ἄλωσιν, in different context, but the word is only here used in N. T. and twice in LXX.); (j) *as long as*, i. 13 (ἐφ' ὅσον) is only here used in N. T. and LXX. in this sense (in the only other passage in which it occurs, Rom. xi. 13, it has a different sense); (k) *knowing that* (γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι) is twice used in this Epistle (i. 20, iii. 3) to introduce a new clause, and only twice elsewhere in the N. T.; (l) *my departure* *ἐξόδος* (i. 15) only once used elsewhere in LXX. and N. T. (viz., Luke ix. 31) in this sense; note also in Josephus the juxtaposition of *ἐξόδος* and *ἀνάμνησιν*, and in 2 Peter *ἐξόδος* and *ιπομνήσει*; (m) the word *ἀμαθία*, *folly, inability to learn*, is not in the N. T. or LXX., but the kindred adjective *foolish* (*ἀμυθίς*), though not in this context, is found in this Epistle (iii. 16) and nowhere else in the N. T. or LXX.' "Here the evidence rests on similarity of words rather than thought; yet even in thought there is considerable similarity." To find words like *μνήμην*, *ἐφ' ὅσον*, *δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι*, which are never used in the N. T., and *ἐξόδος* only once, all in two or three verses, describing the last words of St. Peter, and in a page of Josephus describing the last words of Moses, is striking. Add the other expressions and the cumulative character of the evidence comes out strongly.¹

It appears to be admitted that these are the only passages which "show such striking groups of similarities,"² but it is mentioned that some thirteen or fourteen remarkable words or phrases might be pointed out as common to 2 Peter and Josephus and yet not found elsewhere in the N. T. or LXX. The argument, then,

¹ "Expositor" as above, pp. 59-61.

² Do., p. 61.

beyond doubt depends on the common possession by 2 Peter and Josephus of a small peculiar vocabulary (13 or 14 words), which in two instances tends to arrange itself in groups in Josephus and to a smaller extent in 2 Peter. This, we understand, to be Dr. Abbott's view of the basis of his argument.

II. *Examination of Dr. Abbott's Statement of the Evidence.*

Any extended meditation on the subject will force upon the mind a strong conviction that the method of investigating and determining the relations existing between two writers which Dr. Abbott has adopted, is an exceedingly unsafe one. We are sorry to bring ourselves, by this statement, under the disapproval of both Dr. Abbott and Canon Farrar. The latter¹ "can only suppose that the scholar who" makes this statement is "in reality unable or unwilling to give his full attention to the inquiry." It is, nevertheless, our strong conviction that this method is an eminently unsafe one. We do not, of course, mean to assert by this either that the method is illegitimate or that no secure results can ever be obtained by it. Conceivably, a very strong presumption, passing into moral certainty, might be obtained by it alone, that one writer had borrowed from another. But we are free to confess that we think the instances in which this can be done are very rare, and those in which it has been done are rarer still. When two writers can be shown to possess the same general vocabulary, there is a reason for that fact, and this reason is a legitimate object of search; when two writers can be shown to use in common a very peculiar vocabulary, the cause of this too is a legitimate object of inquiry, and may be demonstrably discoverable; and if this peculiar vocabulary occurs in the two authors grouped in narrow contexts, this also must have a cause, which should be sought, and may be found, and may prove to be direct literary dependence of one on the other. The unsafety of the method does not lie, then, in any necessary unsonndness attaching to it, or any necessary inapplicability of it, but rather in the extreme difficulty of so applying it as to reach secure results. He who launches himself on this method, begins a journey on a very treacherous sea. He who

¹ *Expositor*, etc., as above, p. 404.

attempts to tread this path to truth, starts, indeed, in a road that does lead to the goal, and which may, indeed, be safely trodden, but which can be trodden safely only at the cost of tireless and sleepless watchfulness, in a shifting, moveable road, not like the broad beaten way that invites the even careless step, but rather like a lane of the sea, which a skilful navigator alone can keep. There are so many ways in which two writers may obtain a similar vocabulary, even if a peculiar vocabulary—like training, like associations, like reading, like sources of linguistic knowledge, how many causes may have conspired to the result!—that the case must certainly be an exceptional one which will justify us in saying dogmatically that the real cause of the community is direct literary connexion. And there are so many causes, often subtle in the extreme, and hidden from the coarser sight of man, which may have worked together in crystallising groups of the uncommon words common to two writers around certain centres in their writings, that it is very unsafe to assume that a direct literary connexion can alone be the true account of such phenomena when observed and shown to really exist. And if all this be true in general, how specially true is it of the Greek writers of the time of 2 Peter and Josephus, when the language of literature was in a remarkably unsettled and transitional state; when words and expressions hitherto provincial or popular were suddenly appearing quite independently on the pages of the most widely-separated writers; and when one hardly knows what to assign to the new language common to all, what to the immense mass of underlying popular speech of which we know so little, but of which they knew so much, and which was now striving everywhere to make entrance for itself into literary recognition, what to personal idiosyncrasy or special training or literary borrowing. Our profound ignorance of the spoken Greek of the time—our almost complete unacquaintance with the colloquial vocabulary and usage—alone would bid us beware of too lightly explaining even striking resemblances of vocabulary in two writers by the hypothesis of immediate literary connexion. Nor do there lack special reasons why we should be even peculiarly chary of finding literary connexion at the bottom of resem-

blances existing between 2 Peter and Josephus among the writers of even that transitional age. In any event, the author of the Epistle and Josephus had much in common which bound them closer to one another than either was bound to his age in general, and which might bring to them a common, even peculiar, vocabulary. They were both Jews; both learned Greek doubtlessly in the first instance orally and in a popular form; both learned a peculiar type of Greek current in the same rather peculiar region; both were bred in the same land and under similar teachings and influences; both were accustomed to hear the same speech about them from the same kind of lips; both, so far as they read at all, were readers of largely the same literature. A similarity of vocabulary which might be startling if found in two entirely unconnected writers, might be a mere matter of course between 2 Peter and Josephus. And groups of similar words must be very striking, indeed, as groups, to force the conclusion that there has been immediate literary connexion between those two writers. We do not mean to assert that even in such a case a comparison of the vocabularies of two writers cannot be made profitably, or that evidence could not conceivably be obtained from it which would lead us to suspect that one of them had borrowed from the other. But we do mean to point out that this method of investigating the relations existing between authors, beset with difficulties everywhere, is most peculiarly liable in such a case to be misapplied. We do mean to point out that on launching ourselves upon it, we need a most untiringly careful navigator to our steersman; else, at the end of a voyage, we may fancy ourselves in a port which we are as far as possible away from.

It is worth our notice, next, therefore, that Dr. Abbott does not approve himself to our judgment as an eminently safe sailor on these unsafe waters. On a careful examination of the argument which he has presented, we observe several things which shake our confidence in him as a pilot. Let us enumerate some of them.

1. We observe, then, that Dr. Abbott fails to distinguish sharply, in presenting his argument, between different kinds of evi-

dence. In investigating the relations of two writings to one another, it is conceivable that we might find several kinds of facts, as for example, (1), general resemblance of vocabulary; (2), common possession of a peculiar vocabulary; (3), a number of rare words grouped together in a brief context in one, found also in the other, either (A) scattered through the writing, or (B) similarly grouped; and (4), clauses or sentences occurring in both, either *verbatim* or nearly so, or with strongly-marked similarities. Now the probative force of these several classes of facts is not the same, but increases as we pass down the list, *cæteris paribus*. It is, therefore, essential, in careful investigation, to keep them apart and estimate the bearing of each class separately. This, although he recognises these distinctions theoretically, Dr. Abbott does not succeed in practically doing. For example, if the reader will take his Josephus and mark the words which Dr. Abbott adduces in his groups above, he will not be slow in observing that some items which can justly be classed only under (2) above are included by Dr. Abbott under (3), with the practical effect of unduly raising their probative force as looking towards literary connexion between the two writings.¹

2. We observe, next, that Dr. Abbott does not carefully eliminate irrelevant items from his lists. Lists of expressions meant to prove literary dependence of one writer on another, ought to contain nothing which does not suggest borrowing, and ought, certainly, to contain nothing whose presence in the borrowing writing can be better accounted for by assigning a different origin to it. Dr. Abbott's lists contain words which, whether 2 Peter borrows from Josephus or not, were certainly not taken from Josephus by 2 Peter; and others which are of such character as cannot suggest any closer connexion than that both writings are Greek. Let us instance a few examples. To adduce 2 Peter's mention of the divine *power* (*δύναμις*) as granting unto us all things that pertain to life and godliness, and Josephus' statement that

¹ In the first of Dr. Abbott's examples, only [b, a,] h, c, d, e, and in the second only a, b, c, d, e, have any claim to be grouped in Josephus; while in 2 Peter in the first case only g, c, d, b, stand closely grouped, while in the second only f; d, j, l, e, stand tolerably grouped.

Moses had always assigned fitting deeds to God's *power*, and not attributed to him the indecencies which heathen fables ascribed to the heathen gods,—as an item suggesting literary connexion between the two is but one step removed from the adduction of their common use of the verb *eivai*. The same may be said of the pleading of the common use by the two writers of such words as *καταφρονήσαντες*, *εισέβεια*, *γιγνώσκοντες ὡτι*, and the more so, as none of them occur in any well-marked group of common words. Once more, it hardly admits of question but that *ξοδος* in 2 Peter i. 15, is a reminiscence of our Saviour's words recorded in Luke ix. 31, or a quotation from that passage. The context of 2 Peter leaves no doubt on that point; it occurs just before the Transfiguration is mentioned, and in a context which contains other reminiscences of that scene, and consequently proves that his mind was, at the moment of writing the word *ξοδος*, dwelling on the details of that scene. It is no less than certain, therefore, that *ξοδος* was suggested here by a reminiscence of Christ's words, and consequently that it was not taken from Josephus. Its presence in Dr. Abbot's list, then, is certainly misleading, and, so far, vitiates the argument he has framed. With it, the attempt to find a parallelism between Josephus' *ἀνάμνησιν* and 2 Peter's *ιπομνήσει* falls also into hopeless irrelevancy. And, indeed, also the parallel found between 2 Peter's and Josephus' use of *μεγαλειότητος*, which is found in the same context with *ξοδος* in Luke (ix. 43), and was perhaps derived from that passage by 2 Peter, but just because found just where it is in Luke and in this special context in 2 Peter, is not and cannot be derived from Josephus. To parallel *θειὰς κοινωνὶ φύσεως* and *τῆς μακρᾶς κοινωνὶ ταλαιπωρίας*, on the strength of the arrangement of the words, is, again, simply misleading in such an argument, since the arrangement of the words is determined in each case and explicable in each from the purpose of the writer and needs of the emphasis; the careful exegete will in neither case look beyond the context for the complete account of the matter. To point to the common word *μέλλω* in Josephus, again, as the literary parent of the *μελλήσω* of 2 Peter, is in like manner entirely without significance; and almost as strong language is applicable to the adduction of their common use of

δίκαιοιον ἡγοῦματι, as an item showing literary connexion between them. Both writers must have been thoroughly familiar with the phrase, independently of each other; and if the exact phrase does not elsewhere occur in LXX. or N. T., this is due to mere accident, as any one may satisfy himself who will compare Acts xxvi. 2; 2 Cor. ix. 5; Phil. ii. 3, 6, 25; iii. 7, 8; 1 Tim. i. 12; Heb. x. 29; xi. 26; 2 Peter ii. 13, etc. It is far from certain, once more—it is not even probable—that 2 Peter i. 3 has anything in common with Josephus' statement that Moses proved that God had his *virtue* unmixed. The parallelising of *ἀρετὴ* and *δόξα*, in 2 Peter, seems to prove that the writer meant the former word in the sense which it bears in Hab. iii. 3, and therefore in a totally different sense from what Josephus meant. So long as Hab. iii. 3 stands in the Bible, so long is all the probability that the usage represented there, and not the passage in Josephus, is the literary parent of 2 Peter's use of the word.

Now all of these items are out of place in Dr. Abbott's argument. And it is remarkable what a different aspect it presents when purged thus of some of its irrelevancies. The complicated second group is reduced to simply the common use by 2 Peter and Josephus of a half dozen words (*τοιᾶσδε* [*τοιάδε*], *μνήμην*, *παροίσην* [*παρόντων*], *ἄλωσιν* [*ενάλωται*], *ἐφ' ὅδον*, *ἀμαθῆς* [*ἀμαθίαν*]), among which there are only two (*ἄλωσιν* and *ἀμαθῆς*) whose exceeding commonness in all Greek literature does not throw grave doubt on their relevancy; and neither of these really occurs in both writers. All semblance of *grouping* is gone. The first group suffers nearly as severely, but retains as yet the appearance of a group.

3. We observe, next, that Dr. Abbott, in presenting his argument, does not carefully distinguish between what is sound and what is merely plausible. The mixture of different kinds of evidence and the failure to sift out irrelevant items are themselves examples of this, as both increase the appearance but not the reality of strength in the argument. The same vice runs, however, through the whole treatment of the evidence, and it may be, perhaps, not without its value to illustrate this fact with reference specially to the strongest portion of the pleading. After having stated the parallelisms of the first of his groups, Dr. Abbott re-

marks, as we have seen, that the two most important items in it are those marked *h* and *b*, and then proceeds to develop the first of these as follows :

“As to the first, it must be borne in mind that the word *follow after*, though found in the LXX., does not occur in the N. T.; and the word *fable*, though found four times in the Pastoral Epistles, does not occur elsewhere in the N. T. nor (except in the sense of *tale*, Sirach xx. 19) in the whole of the LXX. The probability, therefore, that the author borrowed from Josephus this protest that the Christians, as well as the Jews, did not *follow after fables*, is increased by the fact that neither the LXX. nor the N. T. contains *both* of the words which are here combined in the same order by the author of the Epistle and Josephus. It may be suggested that the resemblance is less striking because the author adds the words, ‘cunningly devised’ (*σεσοφισμένοις*). But it is the manner of borrowers to add something of their own, and it is a confirmation of the borrowing hypothesis that this added word is used but once in the N. T. (2 Tim. iii. 15, ‘make thee wise unto salvation’), and there in a sense opposite to the meaning here; whereas, in the sense of ‘cunningly devise,’ it is found at least thrice in Josephus (B. J. iii. 7, 20, and iv. 2, 3).”

We presume that it will not be denied that this is the most striking piece of evidence that Dr. Abbott has adduced. But how much of it is plausible rather than sound! 1 Corinthians is one of the generally acknowledged Epistles of Paul; we imagine that Dr. Abbott feels no doubt of its genuineness. We open it at random and light upon 1 Cor. ix. 13, and ask, Is there evidence of the dependence of this, too, on Josephus? Let the reader compare the argument which might be framed in support of that proposition with Dr. Abbott’s pleading, as given above:

“We note that Josephus, in a striking passage (B. J. v. 13, 6) represents the zealots as saying: *δεῖ . . . τοὶς τῷ ναῷ στρατευομένοις ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τρέφεσθαι*. Now, the parallelism of thought between this and 1 Cor. ix. 13, as well as the similarity of wording, is very marked. It becomes immediately evident that the author of 1 Cor. betrays his consciousness of being a borrower here by introducing his statement by the words ‘know ye not’—a mode of expression which not only implies that he is appealing to a well-known phrase not his own, but which is found in Josephus, and so suggests his manner. It is further worthy of remark, that the word *στρατείεται* makes its appearance in this context (verse 7)

in a rather peculiar manner. And to make the case still more secure, we read in this same verse (13) the very rare word *παρθρείοντες*, which occurs here only in the N. T., and only once in all the LXX., and which yet is found in a cognate form in another book of Josephus (*Contra Apion*, I. 7) in a like context: *τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσεδρείοντες*. Now, it is the manner of borrowers thus to combine passages; and this gathering together of phrases from different portions of a writer's works, and combining them into one context, only proves to us the more clearly that we have discovered the original source of the composite passage."

Now, how does the one argument differ from the other? Certainly not in *kind*. And yet the latter confessedly proves nothing. There may be, and there is, a kernel of evidential fact beneath Dr. Abbott's argument, but its outward form is—plausible pleading. Let us observe, now, (1) that Josephus' context and mode of introducing the phrase is totally different from those of 2 Peter. Just compare, "for other law-givers [than Moses], indeed, following after the fables [*τοῖς μ. ἐξ.*], transferred in their discourse the shame of human sins to the gods, and gave much pretext to the wicked," with 2 Peter i. 16. (2) That all the words employed are common words, and are used in current senses; the later Greek, such as that of Polybius, is full of *ἐξακολούων*, *σοφίζων*, and *μιθος*, in just these senses. And (3) that no one of the words is absent from the narrow literature which alone Dr Abbott is inclined to allow to be familiar to the writer of the Epistle (viz., N. T. and LXX). (4) Actually, therefore, the one only point of resemblance between 2 Peter and Josephus is the very natural collocation in two absolutely different contexts of *two very common words*. *Valeat tantum.*

The second of Dr. Abbott's "important" items is also more plausibly than soundly put. It is true that 2 Peter's statement with reference to our becoming "partakers of the divine nature," is very striking, and in phraseology unparalleled in the N. T. It is, however, often paralleled there in thought. But neither in thought nor phraseology is it paralleled in Josephus. He speaks nowhere of men partaking of the divine *nature*, but only of their obtaining a share of God's *virtue*, and that in the use of phraseology about as unlike 2 Peter's as it could be. He does

speak also of the "nature of God" and of the "divine nature," but so do nearly all writers of Greek. Peter would in any case be very familiar with the phrase; and the thing needing explanation is *not* where he could have gotten it, *but* how he came to use it. To point to its presence in Josephus, no more explains this, nor as much, as to point to its presence as a current phrase in the common Greek of the age.

4. We observe, once more, that Dr. Abbott does not inquire with sufficient anxiety after the exact account which the resemblances between the two writings, when once drawn out and clearly exhibited, demand for themselves. He seems, indeed, scarcely to recognise this duty, and declines almost contemptuously to investigate the subject.¹ The critical weapon he is wielding, however, is one exceedingly difficult to handle, and almost always cuts both ways. The only possibly sound method of procedure in such cases is clearly some such as the following: (1) The careful collection and classification of the points of resemblance between the two writings; (2) the most anxious investigation of what accounts could be given of them; and (3) the most thorough-going investigation as to which one of these accounts ought to be given. There is no trace in Dr. Abbott's papers that he has proceeded after such a fashion; to all appearance, he has assumed from the outset that, if resemblances exist, they must be explained by the assumption that 2 Peter borrowed from Josephus. On the contrary, however, it is obvious that we have in this case many ways of accounting for phenomena of resemblance. (1) There is the common inheritance by the two writers of a peculiar form of Greek belonging to a peculiar province. We must sharply investigate how much this will account for. (2) Reared thus in the same age, in the same land, under largely the same influences, there is probability of the common knowledge by the two writers of the same or a similar literature. We must determine very closely how much resemblance this will account for. (3) It is only after these methods of accounting for the phenomena have been exhausted, that we are justified in suspecting real literary dependence of one on the other, and not till

¹ P. 51.

that is rendered probable, that we can begin inquiry as to who is the borrower. This last question, again, is not to be settled by either assumption or guessing. Many items combine to its determination, and each must be investigated. We must ask: (A) Which writing, on other evidence, seems to be the older? No force of internal evidence can make us believe that Shakespeare quotes Tennyson. (B) Which writer, on *a priori* grounds, is more likely to have known the other? (c) Are there any other phenomena of the two writings, besides their resemblances, which may help us to a decision? And (d) what solution of the question do the special phenomena of resemblance themselves suggest? It needs to be kept in mind, moreover, that a borrowing which may seem *a priori* impossible, if conceived of as having taken place directly, may yet be *a priori* quite likely, if conceived of as having taken place through an intermediate link.

The need of such a detailed and careful study of the meaning of phenomena of resemblance, in a case like the present, may be illustrated from the undoubted resemblances existing between Seneca and the Sermon on the Mount, or Paul's speech at Athens, or the Epistle to the Romans. It cannot be pretended that the items of resemblance between 2 Peter and Josephus are anything like so striking as those in any one of these cases. But who will believe that either Paul or Christ borrowed from Seneca, or Seneca directly from them? The more carefully the phenomena are investigated, the more clearly the true solution emerges. Is it impossible that an explanation found adequate to explain those closer resemblances should be inadequate to explain these? Meanwhile, when our author acts as if it were impossible, it is plain that under his leading we are in the hands of an unsafe guide.

III. *Sifting of the Evidence.* But if we cannot yield ourselves to Dr. Abbott's leading, nothing is left us but to seek to work our own way through the problem. And in order to this we must first of all attempt to classify strictly the actual phenomena of resemblance between 2 Peter and Josephus. We do not pretend to have made an independent thorough-going examination of the two authors with a view to discover their relation to one another. But we have carefully examined every statement of Dr. Abbott's

with the original texts before us, and gone over the whole ground independently in a cursory way. The result of our examination is as follows :

1. The general vocabularies of the two writings are in some degree alike.

2. The two writers have in common possession a number of words which are rare in the Biblical books. Dr. Abbott speaks of thirteen or fourteen of these (p. 61); we have counted some seventeen. At least fourteen of these are, however, too common in profane Greek to serve as marks of connexion between any two Greek writers. There remain the collocation *μυθοῖς ἐξακολονθήσαντες*, the phrase *ἴφ' ὅδον* perhaps, and the phrase *καταστροφῇ κατέκρινεν*, which, if it needed accounting for, would be sufficiently accounted for by Gen. xix. 29, but which is probably not genuine in 2 Peter (*καταστροφῇ* being omitted in B. C.¹ Copt.).

3. Of these words rare in Biblical Greek, *πλάσμα, θεοῦ φύσις, μυθοῖς ἐξακολονθήσοντες*, occur in §§ 3 and 4 of the Preface to the Antiquities; and *τοιάδε, μνημῆν, παρόντων, εἰάλωται, ἐφ' ὅδον, ἀμαθίαν*, in Ant. iv. 8, 1 and 2—in both cases in connexion with other phrases bearing some resemblance to phrases in 2 Peter, which were either certainly or probably obtained elsewhere. Here is an appearance of grouping.

4. No silent quotation of clauses or collocations of words seems capable of being adduced.

5. There are of course no direct citations, and no such community in matter as to suggest connexion.

This sifted statement of the evidence will hardly need further justification than has been incidentally furnished in the preceding pages. On an examination of its contents it will be seen that what we have to account for is the common possession by the two writers of a number of words rare in Biblical Greek—but not peculiar out of it—some of which have a mild tendency to group themselves in the Preface §§ 3—4 and iv. 8, 1 and 2 of the Antiquities of Josephus. The real question before us in testing Dr. Abbott's conclusion is consequently something like this: Does this tendency to grouping, such as it is, raise a stronger presumption that 2 Peter knew Josephus, than all the evidence for the canon-

icity, genuineness, and early date of that letter raises for an earlier date for it than A. D. 90?

IV. *What Account should be Rendered of the Matter?* It will be the part of wisdom, however, to proceed by slower and surer steps to our goal. We note then, on a close view of the items of resemblance, that there are a variety of suppositions which, being assumed, would render an adequate account of them. Some of these are excluded, however, by evidence at once so patent and cogent that we need not occupy our narrow space in stating it. Such are, for example, that 2 Peter was originally written in Aramaic and that the resemblances to Josephus were introduced by a later translator, or that the Epistle, although originally Peter's, was subsequently reworked by a hand that knew Josephus, or that the resemblances are due to pure interpolations of the original letter of 2 Peter's. There are, however, at least four hypotheses which have nothing extravagant about them, and which will therefore require less summary treatment at our hands. We might account for the resemblances by assuming either, (1) that 2 Peter borrowed from Josephus, or (2) that Josephus borrowed directly or indirectly from 2 Peter, or (3) that they are due to the influence of a writing known to and affecting the language of both, or (4) that they are due to the common circumstances, surroundings, training, and inheritances of the writers. Our real task is to determine which one of these is the true account of the matter. In order to this we need to observe that:

1. Any one of them, if assumed, will account for the facts of resemblance. This is immediately apparent of the first three, but can be made apparent of the fourth also. Canon Farrar, indeed, cannot "feel respect for the judgment of any critic who asserted that the resemblances were purely fortuitous;" we do not desire to fail of his respect, and perhaps "purely fortuitous" is too strong a phrase. But if we have proceeded at all soundly in sifting the evidence and its significant elements are all contained in our restatement of it, it can hardly be denied that it may be accounted for apart from literary as distinguished from what may be called educational connexion. On any careful consideration of the naturally mediated connexion between the two writers (as distin-

guished from the writings), it will be impossible to deny that very close resemblances in style, phraseology, manner, and wording, may be fully accounted for by it. When we remember that both writers belong to the same age and so might be expected to independently fall upon the words and phrases current in the Greek of the time, that both were Jews and wrote the same Hebraistically tinged Greek (though tinged in different degrees), that both were familiar with the LXX., and perhaps Philo and other Jewish-Greek literature, that both were brought up under the same social fabric, in the same narrow land, under the same manner of training, and were necessarily familiar with the same modes of speech and style of language, we cannot feel that it is mere prejudice which makes us doubt whether any further facts than these are needed to account for the resemblances noted. The semblance of grouping which remains after sifting the evidence is certainly not such as *may* not be accounted for in so closely related writers, as a mere "fortuitous" collocation of words common to both.

2. Each of these methods of accounting for the resemblances has its own advantages. The first has the great advantage of absolute simplicity; the second of combining with almost equal simplicity, freedom from the historical and chronological difficulties which lie against the first; the third of escaping the difficulties lying against both the first and second while supplying an exact account of all the facts, such as the curious coexistence of remarkable divergencies in sense and even phraseology, with close resemblance in the very same phrases, the appearance of grouping while yet the words grouped are excessively common, etc; and the fourth of making no assumptions and proceeding only on solid and well grounded fact.

3. Each of the methods is beset with its own difficulties. In the way of assuming that 2 Peter quotes Josephus there stands the immense presumption arising from the focussing of many separate lines of investigation, that the Epistle comes from a time earlier than A. D. 90. The mere fact that the Epistle was a part of the Church Canon of the time of Origen raises a presumption in this direction; the fact that it is quoted as an authoritative book by Justin Martyr increases it; the fact that it was used by

a series of earlier writers, including even Barnabas and Clement of Rome, clinches it. Its internal phenomena raise a presumption in the same direction: its undisproved assertion that it is by Peter; its phenomena of apostolical reminiscence; its resemblance in thought and wording to what we have elsewhere of Peter's; its fitness in manner and style to what we know of the character of the Peter of the Gospels; and perhaps more cogent than any of these, its total silence in the midst of an elaborate and plainly an interested polemic against the heresies that are opposed by it as well as by Jude and the Pastoral Epistles, of any hint of the forms of error prevalent according not only to John but also to Irenaeus towards the close of the century; its total lack of any trace of the state of mind that we know was induced among Christians of Jewish birth by the destruction of Jerusalem; its absolute unlikeness to any of the known literature of the Second Century; its immeasurable superiority in thought, style, and phraseology to any Christian writing of that period, and its likeness, on the other hand, to the writings of the apostolical age.¹

The assumption that Josephus has copied 2 Peter has to labor under the difficulty of supposing that such a man as Josephus had met with and read so unimportant a Christian Scripture as 2 Peter, and had been so sharply affected by its language as to unconsciously repeat it. We say "unconsciously" advisedly, for Josephus certainly introduces the common phrases most naturally and seemingly unconsciously. We are unable to find, indeed, that they are any less naturally and unconsciously used by 2 Peter, and especially dissent from Canon Farrar's making a stumbling-block of its use of *ἀρετὴν*, wholly, as it seems to us, from failing to take it in the sense which the author of the Epistle defines for us by parallelising it with *δόξα*. But, then, after all, would it be so very strange for Josephus to have known 2 Peter? He knew of Christianity; he could not have avoided knowing of it, and has betrayed knowledge of it. He studiously makes little of it and avoids telling us how much he knew, but he knew something of it. Nothing prevented his having met with the Chris-

¹ Compare Canon Farrar's strong but not too strong remarks on this point: "*Early Days of Christianity*," Vol. i., p. 206.

tian Scriptures. Jews of his age, we know from chance hints in the Talmud and elsewhere, found no difficulty in becoming acquainted with their contents, found difficulty, perchance, at times in not becoming acquainted with them. And if he knew any of the Christian writings, would he not be most likely to know those current in such names as Peter's and James'? If, further, we conceive of his acquaintance with 2 Peter as not immediate, but through a mediating oral or written source, all difficulty seems to be on the verge of removing itself.

The third hypothesis, assuming a common literary source for the phraseology of the two writings, rests under the difficulty which always attaches to the assumption of an hypothetical book or literature, of which we know nothing historically, an assumption which is always dangerous and generally indefensible. We must not minimise this difficulty, but it is somewhat lessened by the facts: (1.) That both Josephus and 2 Peter are confirmed borrowers; (2.) That a large part of the sources of Josephus are known to be lost; and (3.) That a large and much-read popular Jewish literature certainly existed in this age, of which we have but few traces now left.

The chief difficulties lying in the way of accounting for the resemblances apart from all literary connexion, in accordance with the fourth hypothesis, arise from the semblance of grouping of the common words, and such collocations of a couple of words as "daring and despisers," "to do well to take heed," "following after myths," "bringing in all diligence." If the discussion of these collocations above be deemed sound, they will not stand much in the way of this explanation, and if the groups be no more strongly marked than appears from our restatement of the evidence, they cannot raise a presumption of more than slight force against it.

4. The phenomena of the resemblances themselves do not suggest with any strength of presumption any one of these explanations as distinguished from the others. They do suggest with some force some connexion between the two writings; and a calm and unbiassed consideration of them leads to the recognition of a mild suggestion in them of some form, but not of what form of

literary connexion. The strength of this presumption depends, of course, on the difficulty of explaining the phenomena in any other way. It amounts to only an original suspicion tending towards a probability, which may be readily overturned by the exhibition of any considerable difficulty in assuming literary connexion. The real problem before us, then, is: Is it more difficult to explain the semblance of grouping without literary connexion between the writings, or to assume literary connexion?

V. *The Conclusion.* The state of the case is simply this. The resemblances between the two writings are capable of being accounted for in at least four ways. There is an *a priori* probability in favor of each of the four in the reverse order of their statement above.¹ The resemblances themselves suggest that the account rendered should turn ~~a~~ literary connexion in some form, but do not distinguish between the forms. We must conclude:

1. That the assumption that 2 Peter borrowed from Josephus is out of the question. Nothing in the phenomena suggests this rather than at least two other accounts of the matter, and there is no reason for assuming it rather than the other accounts. On the other hand, it is burdened down with literary and historical difficulties quite peculiar to itself and such as would forbid its assumption unless the resemblances between the writings were certainly and utterly inexplicable in any other way.

2. Whether we assume one of the other forms of literary connexion or not, depends on our judgment as to the relative strength of the two presumptions; that raised for literary connexion by the phenomena of grouping, on the one hand, and that raised against it by the difficulties in the way of assuming it, on the other.

3. Perhaps the true explanation is to be found in a combination of two of the methods of explanation given above, namely in the natural connexion existing between the two authors combined with an *indirect* knowledge of 2 Peter by Josephus, derived through acquaintance with Jewish-Christian leaders.

4. While the present writer inclines to this explanation, in his judgment the evidence before us is not decisive between the last three of the explanations discussed above, and the true critical atti-

¹ See above, page 436.

tude is to esteem the question to this extent unsettled. Any one of the three, separate or in combination with the others, will explain the facts, and no one of them is burdened with overmastering difficulties. However trying it may be to find it so, it is true that history does not preserve to us, nor chance hide in the records themselves, the decisive considerations which will solve for us every problem of ancient literatures. It is enough to be able to point out, in a case like the present, somewhat narrow lines within which the explanation must be finally found; and enough for the defence of the genuineness of 2 Peter to be able to show that the assumption that it borrowed from Josephus does not lie within these lines. It is, of course, easy to say that that explanation has been excluded only on considerations which are "*rein apologetisch.*" To all whose devotion is given to simple truth, however, apart from either apologetic or destructive bias, we can confidently look for a hearty recognition of the fact that it has been excluded (and must therefore be kept excluded) not on grounds of dogmatic or apologetical prejudice, but on purely historical and literary grounds, such as not only can be pleaded as raising a strong valid historical presumption for the early date of 2 Peter, but also apart from noting and yielding to which no valid historical results as to the date or literary relations of 2 Peter can be obtained at all. This is, in fact, one of the not rare cases in which Truth herself is an "Apologist."

And now, that our task is accomplished, we must take summary leave of our subject. Another attempt to find evidence of the spuriousness of 2 Peter has failed, and it begins to look as if that Epistle has too good a claim to a position in the Canon to be ousted by any legal process—as if violence alone could hope to tear it from its place. Certainly if the sharp attack that Dr. Abbott has led and so ably generalised has failed, we may expect others to fail. We confess to a high admiration for the acumen and force of his argumentation; the lever he uses to pry 2 Peter out of its firm bedding in the solid rock of God's word is certainly a most uncommonly admirable instrument. All that is lacking is a firm and solid fulcrum of facts which can stand the pressure

of the immense heaving. Dr. Abbott has brought forward one with a strong external appearance of solidity. But with the very beginning of the prying, it too, like all its predecessors, crumbles into dust, or ever the Epistle moves a jot from its bed. The moral is that 2 Peter must be most stedfastly fixed on its base—perhaps is an undivided portion of the bed-rock itself. So we believe it to be; and certainly, thus far, all the appearances are in that direction.

BENJ. B. WARFIELD.



too costly indeed for any but opulent buyers ; for in those days the cost of a Bible was the price of a farm. They were within the reach of gentlemen only, or of merchants, or people otherwise well-off. These Bibles went into palaces, and castles, and burghers' houses, and tradesmen's shops, and yeomen's families. They were conned carefully on Sundays, and prayed over in presence of households and servants at family devotion. They were talked over among neighbors and friends when trouble came, or when priestly authority attempted to wall up the way of life. And this wide diffusion and familiar perusal, among influential persons, and the better classes in general, account for the sturdy spirit with which the German princes and people resisted the arrogance and curbed the bigotry of their rulers, and compelled them to refrain from persecution. It was the diffusion of religious feeling and theological knowledge among the laity, by means of these Bibles, that enabled people to judge for themselves when they listened to disputes among theologians. Without it, they would have been only blind partisans and noisy fanatics. Under its influence they learned to love the truth of God ; to defend it, and, when necessary, to suffer for its sake. The tide of religious *feeling* which accompanied the Reformation could have proceeded from nothing else than religious *knowledge* derived from the Scriptures themselves. In no other way can we account for the profound emotion accompanying Savonarola's preaching at Florence, than by remembering how many editions of the Italian Bible had, before that time, been printed at Venice and other Italian cities. Even the prohibition of vernacular Scriptures, in the less enlightened countries of Europe, like that of Ferdinand and Isabella, about 1490, proves, what we otherwise know, that versions of the Bible had already been made into the Valencian and Castilian dialects of Spain. We could not, without this knowledge, account for the early progress of Protestant opinion and feeling in such countries as Italy and Spain.

It may well astonish us that the authorities of the Roman Church did not sooner awake to the danger which threatened their power, from the diffusion of the Scriptures among the laity. They had been forewarned by the Albigensian heresy in the thirteenth century, by the Lollard insurrections in the fourteenth, and by the Hussite war in the fifteenth. But Leo X. and his profligate cardinals were too intent on their flagitious pleasures to realize the danger which might rise out of this machine for making books. And God, who had been sowing for this harvest so long, meant not that they should wake from their slumber till the blade, which came up in the night, should be too strong to wither in the morning. Full half a century went by, from the date of Mentelin's German Bible, during which the printing-press, throughout Europe, poured forth folio Bibles like a cloud. How these could fail to be accompanied by quartos and smaller forms, for poorer purchasers, I cannot conceive. But, before the ecclesiastics perceived the peril, the mischief was done. God "had given them the spirit of slumber, and eyes that did not see," until the knowledge of His truth had been, in some measure, communicated ; and it had become impossible to bind again the souls which it had made free. The Teutonic peoples, at least, were unchained ; and from them freedom of conscience and independence of opinion went forth to England, to America, and thence to all the earth. It may fairly be said that the wide diffusion of the Scriptures I have described *was* the Reformation, working in secret, much before Luther came.

Meanwhile, how strange is the attitude of Christian England ! We may enu-

merate sixty editions of the Bible, in various languages of Europe, before encountering one of English origin. And why? Because there was none! England, that received the Anglo-Saxon Gospels from Bede as early as 735, and the whole Bible in English from Wiclif in 1388, produced not one printed English Bible during the seventy-five years of printing between the date of the Mazarin (1455) and that of the first Bible authorized by Henry VIII. (1535). Caxton was printing at Westminster as early as 1477, and others followed without intermission; but the Bible was not among the books produced by them. They dared not print the Bible. Lollardism had come so near prevailing in England in the last part of the fourteenth century, that the Catholic dignitaries became thoroughly alarmed. They sold their support of the unsteady throne of Henry IV., the Lancastrian usurper, for the privilege of persecuting the Wycliffites. It was Wiclif's Bible of which they were afraid; and Caxton, brought up in courts, was too wise a man to print dangerous matter, when he could safely sell tales of Troy and Canterbury, acceptable to the rich and luxurious. It is the disgrace of England that she had never a Bible of her own till 1535. Bohemia, baptized in blood for the Gospel's sake in 1424-34, printed the Bible, in its own language, at Prague in 1488. Even Spain had a Valencian Bible in 1477. The greater vigilance and anxiety of the English clergy prevented the like in their island. But as soon as the Reformation blazed forth upon the Continent, godly Englishmen went abroad to print Bibles, and send them home in ship-loads. Henry Stevens says, "Within the first ten years," after Tyndale made his translation, "fifteen editions of his Testament, each of 3,000 copies, were printed [abroad] and sold" [in England]. This it was which compelled Henry VIII. to authorize the printing of the Bible. From his day to ours the production has gone on at such a rate that "the editions of the Bible in English have not only outnumbered those of any other nation, but, in the aggregate, and including America, exceed those of all other languages." England and America alone, of all Christian nations, have great and efficient *Bible societies* for dispersing of this book by millions, in all languages, through all the climates of the earth. The Bible, in return, has blessed these two nations, beyond all others, with happiness at home and influence abroad; so that the race, the institutions, and the language, originating in the country last of all Europe to receive the word of God, but foremost in the love of it, are likely to overspread the world.

FREDERIC VINTON.

On the Post-Exilian Portion of our Lord's Genealogy.—In estimating the historical character of this portion of our Lord's genealogies, we must note: (1). That the Salathiel and Zorobabel of Luke iii. 27, are the same as those of Matt. i. 12, 13, and as the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of 1 Chron. iii. 17, 19. This is evinced alike by the like number of generations placed by Luke and the Old Testament between David and Salathiel (twenty-two in the one to twenty in the other, inclusive); and by the proportionate place which the names occupy in both Matt.'s and Luke's genealogies—in each, midway between David and Jesus. (2). That the representation by both Matt. and Luke of Zorobabel as the son of Salathiel, is by no means inconsistent with 1 Chron. iii. 19, where he appears as his nephew. Elsewhere the Old Testament constantly agrees with the Evangelists (Ezra iii. 2; v. 12; Hag. i.

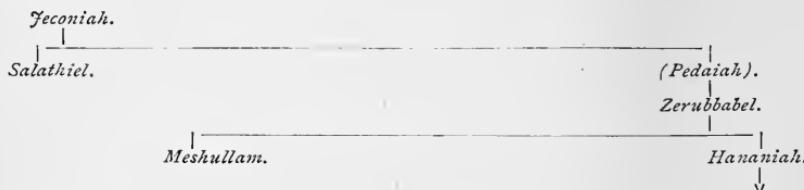
i, 2; ii. 2); this being only one out of many cases in which the line of *heirship* is the line preserved in the genealogies, which, indeed, among the Jews, rested as commonly on a basis of inheritance as of actual fatherhood (see this fully shown, with numerous examples, in Hervey, "Genealogies of our Lord," p. 27, sq.) (3). That Luke's representation of Salathiel as a Nathanite, son of Nerei, is by no means inconsistent with Matt.'s representation of him as son to the Solomonite Jeconias. Matt. follows (with 1 Chron. iii. 17) the line of heirship; Luke here the actual line of descent. The Old Testament itself exhibits the fact that Jeconias was personally childless (Jer. xxxvi. 30; xxii. 30, cf. for עֲרָירָה Gen. xv. 3; Lev. xx. 20, 21); hints, in the difference in the form of promise as given to Solomon and David, that an heir should fail to the former and not to the latter; exhibits historically the failure of Solomon's line; and points to the line of Nathan (Zech. xii. 12, 13) as its successor, all in direct accord with the notice of Luke (see Mill, "Mythical Interp.," etc., p. 180, sq.; Ebrard, "Gospel Hist.," p. 160). Moreover Jewish tradition clearly represents both the father of the Messiah as Nathan (see Mill, p. 191); and the father of Salathiel as Nerei. (4). That the diversity of the names between Zorobabel and Jesus as given by Matt. and Luke, is in no sense opposed to the historic truth of either list, seeing that while Matt. presents his as a genealogy of Joseph, Luke as clearly presents his as a genealogy of Mary. In the face of the now universally admitted reading of Luke iii. 23, which places the ὁς ἐρούμενος after *vios* with the effect of making it qualify the one word, "Joseph," instead of the whole list, still further supported by the significant absence before this name alone, of the article *τοῦ*, whereby it is distinguished in its connection from all the other names, it is hardly possible to contend longer that Luke gives Joseph's genealogy.* Even were we to assume that both gave the genealogy of Joseph, however, there would be no necessary inconsistency between them, as has been fully shown by Mill and Hervey. But since they do actually give genealogies of different persons, no possible objection can lie against any diversity of names occurring after that of Zorobabel. Joseph and Mary are represented as both descended from Zorobabel; but their lines of descent may diverge immediately after Zorobabel, as well as at any subsequent point. We shall see that they probably do not diverge until after Abiud of the one and Jodas of the other, but this is incidental to the point here made. (5). That the lists bear no internal marks of unhistorical character, but on the contrary, every mark of historic truth. Thus the names in both lists have been shown by Lord Arthur Hervey to be strongly Davidic and even Nathanic, which is just what we would expect from the hint let fall in Luke i. 59-63, as well as from the provable practice of Jewish families, if these lists were actually the names of descendants of Nathan (see Hervey, p. 132, sq.)

On allowing the proper weight to these five points, it will be seen that the historical character of these post-exilian genealogies of our Lord is raised to a very high degree of probability, perhaps to as high a degree as it is possible to bring that of any list of names, otherwise than by comparison with parallel lists known to be historical. The questions arise, Are there any such parallel lists

* That the genealogy of Luke is that of Mary, is held by Robinson, Gresswell, Lange, Wieseler, Rigggenbach, Auberlen, Ebrard, Alexander, Oosterzee, Andrews, Godet, Weiss, Keil, Plumptre, etc.

in the present case? and do the New Testament lists bear the test of comparison? There are two sources from which we might gain such lists: the Old Testament Scriptures and Jewish tradition.

The latter part of 1 Chron. iii. gives us some account of the (legal) descendants of Jeconiah. This is a very difficult portion of Scripture, but this much seems plain: Zerubbabel's most important son was Meshullam, but his line was continued not by him, but by Hananiah, so that the descent seems to have been this:



At first sight neither Matt.'s nor Luke's list seems to present any point of contact with this. In Matt.'s case this is not surprising, since he professes to have shortened his list in the interests of an arbitrary arrangement, and his Abiud may represent a much later generation. In Luke's case, however, it does seem strange. Note, however: (1). The full list of the sons of Zerubbabel is not given in 1 Chron. iii. 19, 20. Seven names are given, while only five are counted in the summing up. From this it seems probable that this list was framed during Zerubbabel's life-time, and that two sons were added to it subsequent to its original writing. Other sons may have been still subsequently born and not added, among which may have been a Rhesa. (2). Yet, Rhesa seems evidently not a proper name at all, but a title representing the Chaldee form **רְשָׁא**, which is the equivalent of the Hebrew **שָׁאָר**, and is the constant representative of it in the Targums. It is, moreover, just the title which in later times the Babylonian Jews gave their chief, **רְשָׁא**. We have only to suppose, therefore, that Meshullam was called Resha **רְשָׁא**, so that his title took the place of his name (as Christ became the proper name of Jesus), to identify Luke's Resha with Meshullam. Luke's Resha must at all events have had some other name, and Meshullam is as likely as any. (3). Luke's second name, Joanan, with no coaxing at all, identifies itself with the Hananiah of 1 Chron. iii. 19. Not only are the two names of the same significance and derived from the same roots, the only difference being that in the one the Jehovah is placed *before*, in the other *behind* the **חָנָן**; but this alteration in the position of Jehovah is not uncommon

in names compounded with it. Thus the same king is Jecon-iah in Jer. xxiv. 1, and Jeho-iacin in 2 Kings xxiv. 8. So, also, the same man is Ahaz-iah in 2 Chron. xxii. 1, and Jeho-ahaz in 2 Chron. xxi. 17, and xxv. 23. Indeed, this variation of the position of the Jehovah may be called even normal in the names compounded with that divine name, so that there is absolutely no pressing required in identifying Luke's Jo-hanan with the Hanan-iah of the chronicler. (4). Below Hananiah and Joanan in the respective lists, however, identification becomes impossible, if we are to suppose that the names follow in each, generation after generation. In the face of the known habit of omission, prac-

ticed for the sake of conciseness among the Jewish genealogers, however, it is a violent supposition which supposes Luke's a necessarily complete genealogy. Demonstrably, omissions have been made by Luke in the section included in iii. 32 ; why not here ? Hervey proposes to avoid all difficulty by supposing that the Shemaiah of 1 Chron. iii. 22 is the same as the Shemei of v. 19 ; and that thus his grandson Elioenai was the contemporary of Hananiah, and married his sister, Shelomith. Thus his son, Hodaiah, was the nephew of Hananiah and his successor. Therefore, Luke names Hodaiah under the name of Jodas, after Hananiah, as the next generation ; and Matt. begins his list after Zorobabel, with the same name, under the form of Abiud. This identification of Hodaiah with Jodas is doubtless correct, Luke's Jodas standing evidently for Judas or Judah, and Hodaiah and Judah being convertible names like Hananiah and Johanan. This very conversion, indeed, actually occurs in the Old Testament ; thus the same man is called Hodaiah in Ezra ii. 40 and Judah in iii. 9 ; and again the same man is called Hodaiah in 1 Chron. ix. 7, and Judah in Neh. xi. 4. The names being in fact the same, no difficulty can arise from this point of view against their identification. Matt.'s Abiud may also, with small forcing, be considered as the same name, it being simply the Hebrew **אַבִּיּוֹד**, *i. e.* **אַבְּרִיּוֹד** closely cognate with **וְהַדִּיָּה** ;

and the abbreviation of such proper names being far from uncommon (cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 44, with 2 Sam. iii. 15 ; 2 Kings xviii. 2, with 2 Chron. xxix. 1 ; Jer. xxii. 24, with 1 Chron. iii. 16). But the method by which Hervey makes Hodaiah next in descent to Hananiah, is wholly indefensible. The text of this chapter of 1 Chron. is difficult, and perhaps somewhat confusing, but we lose all the guidance we have when we cast it into pi and begin its re-composition after our own notions. In all probability the queer phrases of verses 21 and 22 are meant to indicate additional descendants of Hananiah, giving them their ancestors' names, so that Rephaiah, Arnan, Shechaniah, Obadiah, are to be added to the list of sons of Hananiah. The genealogy then goes on smoothly. Of Hattush we read in Ezra viii. 2, as a chief of David's house ; but as not his sons, but those of his brother Neariah, are given here, he seems to have been succeeded in that dignity, perhaps in all inheritance, as being himself childless, by his brother's sons, just as Shealtiel was by Pedaiah's, or by his brother himself, just as we have assumed that Meshullam was by Hananiah. It seems, thus, that the line of natural descent breaks more than once in this list, the line of legal descent being substituted for it. We gain as this legal line the following sequence of names from 1 Chron. iii., viz : Shealtiel, Zerubbabel, Meshullam, Hananiah, Shechaniah, Shemaiah, Hattush (Neariah), Elioenai, Hodiah. With this Luke's list, if we adopt the identifications we propose, runs parallel, only omitting the links between Hananiah (Joanan) and Hodaiah (Jodas). And if we adopt the identification of Matt.'s Abiud with Hodaiah (Jodas), it follows that Matt. omits all the links between Zerubbabel and Hodaiah, which is quite in accord with his habit elsewhere in his genealogy. So long as these identifications are possible, it cannot be held that the New Testament lists are hopelessly out of joint with the Old Testament list ; nay, the very fact that they are possible raises some probability in their favor. A comparison with the Old Testament list does not, in any event, raise a presumption against their historical character.

The question next arises, is there any further evidence in existence by which these probable identifications can be made more certain? Here we turn to Jewish tradition, and from it we are able to bring forth two lists of names professing to be lists of Davidic princes subsequent to Zerubbabel. One of these is contained in the *Seder-olam-sutta*, a brief abstract of Jewish history of not overmuch value, but professing to give in its course a list of David's descendants. Hertzfeld has shown that it is drawn up from a Babylonian point of view, and gives a list of Babylonian princes, coinciding in its later portion with the list of the Princes of the Captivity. Quite naturally, therefore, its names are wholly unlike those of Luke, and it is chiefly valuable to us as making the descent go from Zerubbabel, through Meshullam and his son Hananiah, thus confirming the view we took of the line in 1 Chron. iii., falling, however, into the natural mistake of making Hananiah son to Meshullam. The other Jewish list is found in the "Breviarium de Temporibus" of the pseudo-Philo, first published by Annius of Viterbo. And this list, if at all to be depended on, is of very great importance, giving us a catalogue of what professes to be *duces ex domo David* down to the times of the Maccabees, by which not only are our identifications of Luke with 1 Chron. iii. shown to be correct, but fourteen names of Luke's list supported by independent testimony, and hence proved genuinely historical. The following table will exhibit results:

I CHRON. III.	SEDER, ETC.	BREVIARIUM.	LUKE III.
Shealtiel.....	Salathiel.....	Salathiel Mesezebel.....	Salathiel.
Zerubbabel....	Zerubbabel....	Serubabel Berechia.....	Zorobabel.
Meshullam....	Meshullam....	Resa Mysciolam.....	Rhesa.
Hananiah....	Hananiah....	Johannes ben Resa.....	Joanan.
Shechaniah....	Etc.	.....	.....
Shemaiah....	Etc.	.....	.....
Hattush....	Etc.	.....	.....
(Neariah)....		.....	.....
Elioenai....		.....	.....
Hodaiah....		Judas Hyrkanus.....	Jodas.
.....		Josephus Primus.....	Josech.
.....		Abner Semei.....	Semeein.
.....		Elyh Matathias.....	Mattathias.
.....		Asar Maat.....	Maath.
.....		Nagid Artaxat.....	Naggai.
.....		Agai Helly.....	Eslei.
.....		Maslot Naum.....	Naoum.
.....		Amos Syrach.....	Amoz.
.....		Matathias Siloa.....	Mattathias.
.....		Josephus, junior.....	Joseph.
.....		Jannaeus Hyrkanus.....	Jannai.
	Babylonian.		

It is plain, therefore, that it is a matter of considerable importance to estimate correctly the real value of this traditional list. If it is historical, Luke's list, beyond all question, is historical too.

The history of the Breviarium in which it is contained is soon given.* It was first published by Annius of Viterbo, who flourished at the end of the fifteenth century, and was represented by him as having been found at Mantua,

*See Fabricius Bibl. Græc. (Hamb. 1708) Vol. III. lib. iv. § 2, 44; Herzfeld, Geschichte des V. Israels, I. p. 264; and for Annius himself the article by Corniani in the Biographie Universelle.

in 1491. It is plainly not Philo's; and as plainly full of the most absurd historical errors. Its attempts to synchronize Jewish and heathen history are simply absurd; so that the book, as a book, is universally regarded as worthless; and, so far as it claims to be Philo's, a transparent forgery. It has been confidently claimed that it was forged by Annius himself, and undoubtedly Annius was in very bad odor, as a publisher of dubious "Ancients," in the sixteenth century. It is very doubtful, however, whether he was not rather dupe than deceiver. This opinion was held by Apostolo Zeno and Tiraboschi, and is now strongly defended by Hertzfeld. But whether fraud or credulity be imputed to him is of small importance. It is admitted that the Breviarium is not Philo's, and is worthless as a historical work, taken as a whole. The question is, What is the historical value of this list of names included in it? Note, then:

I. That this question is not settled by the mere fact that it occurs in a forged book, nor is it settled by a constant use of strong epithets in speaking of Annius. He may or may not have been a "shameless" or "impudent forger"; and yet this list, incorporated in one of the books alleged to have been forged by him, may rest on a historical basis. Few forgeries are all forgeries. There is generally some kernel of truth in them that calls out the forgery; very often they are attempted in order to gain the countenance of a great name for an otherwise true statement. As to what part of a forged work is true and what part is false, then, depends on something else than that the book is forged. This list, then, embodied in the Breviarium, must be examined on its merits, and its worth determined by the evidence.

II. It is worthy of note, therefore, that in the Breviarium, it claims to have been derived from an older source (de his septuaginta seniores sic in scriptis reliquerunt). This statement may have been inserted to lend credit to the list as professedly communicated by Philo, seeing that it relates to a period so much earlier than his time, and thus it may be but part of the forgery. But while he was at it, why didn't the forger make out his list down to Philo's time? On the other hand, however, it may have been inserted because the forger drew the list out of an existing document, and therefore feared to incorporate it without a note such as would save the credit of his work. This is the way with Pseudepigraphic writers.* And, therefore, a possibility at least is raised that the list, though occurring in a forged book, is older than it, and of possibly historic value.

III. This possibility is raised to a strong probability by an examination of the internal character of the list, by which it is proved to be Jewish in its origin, and to have been adopted bodily by the author of the Breviarium, without accurate understanding of its details. Thus the Jewish *titles* which occur in it, **רושא**, **השר**, **הה**, and **נגיד**, have been misunderstood by the author as names, and have been so treated. It is very evident that Resa Mysciolam, Asar Maat, Nagid Artaxat, represent to him nothing more or less than double names; and as such are parallel to Judas Hyrkanus, Abner Semei, Elyh Matakias. And if there were any doubt of this on the face of the matter, it would fail on noting the character of the Breviarium itself, whose very object here is to support what is called the *Binomial theory* of the genealogies, a theory which was doubtless suggested to the forger by the double names in this very list. Thus we read in the Breviarium, "ab isto Joash atque deinceps in re-

* Cf. e. g., *Testes. XII. Pats.*; *Jos. 3*, and *Benj. 3*.

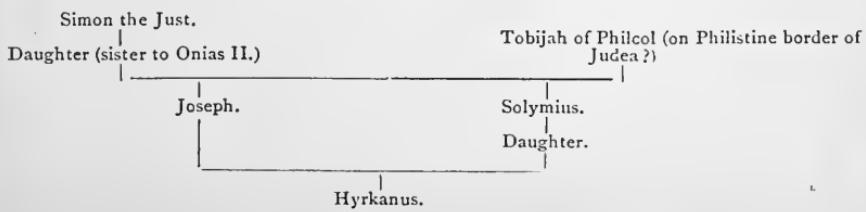
memorationem reges semper binomii atque trinomii fuerunt." It thus becomes well-nigh certain that the list was not invented, but adopted by the author of the Breviarium; and the possibility that it is of some historic value is raised to a probability.

IV. And this probability is raised to a very high degree when we once try the list by the theories which have been invented to account for it on the ground that it is a forgery, and observe the inadequacy of them all. Lord Hervey adopts the following theory: "The fertile invention of Annius of Viterbo, forged a book in Philo's name, which accounted for the discrepancies by asserting that all Christ's ancestors from David downward, had two names." This theory will, perhaps, account for the origin of the Breviarium, but will not at all fit this list. If it means anything, as applied to it, it means that the forger reconciled Matt.'s and Luke's lists by assuming that both were true, and that they only called the same double-named man in each case, by different names. To fit the theory, therefore, the list ought to be made up of double names, one-half of which each time is found in Matt., and the other half in Luke. A mere glance at the list will show that this is not the case. Above this list the author of the Breviarium has used this method, and has identified the unknown Nerei of Luke with Jeconias, Manasseh with Er, Hezekiah with Jesus, Amaziah with Levi, and Joash with Symeon; moreover, though confounding Neh. iii. 4 and 1 Chron. iii. 17, he has identified Zerubbabel with Berechia, and Salathiel with Meschesabel. Here we do undoubtedly find the *Binomial theory*, swaying the formation of the list. But *below* Zorobabel that theory utterly fails. Lord Hervey's account is as follows: "By the same convenient process he identifies Rhesa and Meshullam, Abner (a name interpolated in the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matt.,) and Semei, Eliakim (of Matt.) and Mattathias, Azor (of Matt.) and Maat, and others in St. Luke's list, with persons mentioned by Josephus." When we come to look for these last, we can find only two possible cases; Joseph II. with Joseph ben Tobijah, and Jannæus with his son Hyrkanus. In other words, in a list of fourteen, this theory can be twisted into fitting in only six cases! and that only by deserting its very *raison d'être*! The object of the alleged forgery is to reconcile Matt.'s list and Luke's. Let the critic explain what was to be gained by identifying only two of Matt.'s list with two of Luke's, and that in the midst of the genealogy, where by this very identification, a contradiction instead of a harmony was induced between Matt. and Luke, in making them assign a different father to this composite ~~Ammer~~ Elyh. Let the critic further explain what kind of a mind this forger must have had, who in seeking known names with which to identify Luke's unknown ones, sought them in such a variety of sources only to find six at the most, and then gave up the task and invented new names for the rest, for no other imaginable reason than to keep up the Binomial appearance where pairs did not exist (and yet there lay Matt.'s mine!) and then again gave this up and allowed three, and really six out of the fourteen to remain undoubted; and still more than this, who accidentally stumbled in the process of this invention wholly unintentionally and unwittingly on no less than two Hebrew titles, besides adopting another from Luke, which by a stroke of unconscious genius he uses as a title, although Luke does not do so! This theory beyond all question makes too large demands on our faith. It cannot fit the facts, for the very reason that the list is *not* an identification of Luke's unknown names with known names. Dr. Mill's account of the matter given

in the words : "That most impudent forger, Annius, of Viterbo, who makes these ancestors of Christ rulers in Israel, each with an appropriate title," fails from the same reason. It does not fit the facts ; only three out of the fourteen names have titles.

Moreover, all theories of the forgery of this list are shattered on one single consideration : they all necessarily suppose the Breviary list to have been made out of Luke's list, whereas it seems certain that it is *independent* of Luke. This is very convincingly argued by Hertzfeld (p. 382) ; on, among others, the following cogent grounds : 1st, The Breviary not only lacks names given in Luke, both before and after this list of common names, but by a note inserted after the naming of Manasseh, which is identified with Er, proves that he is drawing from a source which was absolutely ignorant of the four names inserted between Er and Nerei by Luke ; and, 2d, The Breviary preserves the Hebrew titles which Luke has lost or transmuted into proper names (Rhesa, Asar, Nagid). Now we may, perhaps, imagine one understanding Rhesa as a title, but who but an *Oedipus* could ever have guessed that Luke's Naggai hid the titular Nagidh in its bosom ? The list of the Breviary, therefore, certainly represents an older document, and that document is certainly not the Gospel of Luke. Its very accord with Luke, therefore, proves *both* to be historical. The only escape from this conclusion would be to claim that Luke was dependent on the Breviary list ; but this is plainly impossible—for (a) Luke's genealogy, both before and after the common portion, contains names not in it ; (b), those it does contain in common with it are much too altered to suppose them borrowed from it ; and (c), the names in Luke often do not preserve the very points evidently deemed important in the Breviary, *e. g.*, Luke omits the surname Hyrkanus, and in two instances preserves the title instead of the name.

V. The moral certainty already reached, as to the historical value of this list, is still further strengthened by observing the internal evidence it bears as to its own historical worth. To each name a number is attached, giving the years during which each prince stood as the Davidic head of the people, and Hertzfeld has shown that these dates bring out interesting combinations with otherwise-known Jewish history. Thus it is remarkable that we read so early in the list of a *Hyrkanus* ; but Hertzfeld points out that King Ochus, about 350 B.C., transported many Jews to the region whence that name was derived. Now, according to the Breviary, the fourteen years of Judas Hyrkanus fall, according as we count them, between 360-346 or 343-329 ; moreover, to complete the coincidence, the Breviary distinctly states that Judas was the first [chief man] who bore this name of Hyrkanus. Again, the Breviary attaches to the name of Joseph II. the words, "honoratus a Ptolemæo," which identifies him with the Josephus ben Tobijah of Jos. Ant. xii. 4 ; now the dates bring Josephus II. exactly to the proper date. The following genealogy is, however, given to this Joseph of Josephus :

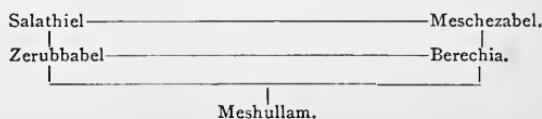


But this does not militate against this identification, since, from the short dates given in the Breviarium between Joseph I. and Amos Syrach, it is impossible that the succession should have continued from father to son, and so it is probable that it was interrupted here. Again, this placing of Joseph II. and Hyrkanus in a list of Davidic princes, for the first time explains the notices of Joseph and Hyrkanus in Josephus, the actions ascribed to whom there have hitherto seemed remarkably without adequate explanation. Hertzfeld concludes this examination with the very sensible remark, that since the Breviarium list so fully stands such tests, wherever they can be applied, it deserves our credit where they cannot; to which it may be added, that its accuracy is the more striking from the glaring contrast thus made with the historical absurdity of the rest of the Breviarium.

We conclude, then, that this Breviarium list is most assuredly a historically trustworthy document—proved to be such by a large number of independent considerations. It is, therefore, a proper document by which to test the historical character of St. Luke's genealogical list. On comparing Luke's list with it, the following results follow:

(1). Luke's list is, beyond all question, a historical list;—not the invention of mythological fancy or tendentious forgery. For fourteen names it coincides with an independent list of Davidic princes, and for the remaining five (or, counting Christ, six) generations, there remains the time between 179 B.C. and B.C. 4, or about the fit average of 35 years to a generation.

(2). Our provisional identifications of names out of Luke's list with names out of 1 Chron. iii. are proved correct. This is abundantly plain of Rhesa and Meshullam. Luke's Joanan cannot be the Hananiah of 1 Chron. iii. 19, however, unless we judge the "filius Resa" of the Breviarium to be an error, which, however, in so natural a case, is not difficult. This designation, "filius Resa," witnesses incidentally also to the fact that Meshullam was called Resa *κατ' ἔξοχήν*, and so illustrates Luke's use of the title, Rhesa, instead of the name. The omission of names between Joanan and Jodas is also supported by the Breviarium. For, the very long "reigns" assigned in it to the first three names (Zerubbabel, Resa, and Johannes), amounting to 177 years, make a period plainly too large, and opens the way to a conjecture of omitted names. Hertzfeld thinks he finds the missing links thus: We read (Neh. iii. 4) of a Meshullam, son of Berechia, son of Meschazabel (cf. LXX. Neh. x. 21). According to iii. 21 he was a man of position, as also appears from vi. 18, and xi. 24. He lived about B.C. 444. Now in the Breviarium to Salathiel is added the name of Mesezabel, and to Zerubbabel that of Berechia. What is to prevent our supposing that the original list ran: Salathiel, Zerubbabel, *Meshullam*, Hananiah, Meschesabel, Berechia, *Meshullam*, etc., and that a confusion arising between the two *Meshullams* produced the omission? This is very possible. But it seems more probable that the Meshullam of Neh. iii. 4 was first confused with that of 1 Chron. iii. 17, and then the confusion rectified by the doubling of the names of father and grandfather in accordance with the Binomial theory of the author of the Breviarium (not of the list); so that he read:



It is much safer, therefore, to find the missing links in 1 Chron. iii., and as given above.

(3). Luke's genealogy from Zorobabel to Jesus runs through the line of inheritors of David's throne; so that Mary was the true daughter of the throne. To Jewish view, Christ's inheritance could not depend on this, however, since His heirship depended on and came through His father; but this shows how impossible it is to claim that throughout Matthew gives the line of heirship, Luke that of blood. Doubtless, from Zorobabel to Joseph, Matthew gives the *natural blood* line by which Joseph became an heir to Zorobabel, the heir of Solomon. It is Christ's heirship line only because He was the heir and not the natural son of Joseph. Luke, on the contrary, gives Mary's *heirship* line up to Zorobabel; as appears from the fact that Luke's line harmonizes with one purporting to be a list of princes and not throughout the line of blood descent, and in which the dates are so given that it cannot be throughout the line of blood—dates, too, tested and proved correct. This is supported by the fact that Luke certainly leaves the blood line for that of heirship in the case of Zorobabel. Why not elsewhere? This being so, the modern methods of harmonizing Luke and Matthew, on the hypothesis that both give the line of Joseph, utterly fail, as they assume that, from Zorobabel down, Matthew should give a line of heirs, and Luke of blood. History exactly reverses this; and it is worth remarking that the early tradition preserved by Julius Africanus, as from our Lord's kindred, agrees with the Breviarium in stating that Luke's genealogy preserves the line of heirship.

(4). A number of Christ's ancestors—as would have been *a priori* expected from the descendants of a line of kings—took a prominent part in the history of their times. Read what Josephus has to say about Joseph ben Tobijah and Hyrkanus.

(5). It is only necessary to add that the portion of Luke's list subsequent to Jannai, is not wholly without support from Jewish tradition, seeing that a passage in the Talmud calls Mary the daughter of Eli (Chagigah 77, 4).

We conclude, therefore, that Luke's genealogy, from Zorobabel to Christ, is fully vindicated in its historical character. With regard to Matthew's, as we have no lists with which to compare it, we are forced to rest in the general considerations set forth at the beginning of this paper. If his Abiud is to be identified with Luke's Jodas, as seems probable, then Joseph's and Mary's lines part at that point, to meet again in the Saviour of the world, the real son of one and the legal heir of the other. There being no reason to suspect Matthew's list of not being historical, but, on the contrary, every internal evidence of its true historical character, it also may be safely accepted as vindicated from all doubt. The questions arising concerning Matthew's arbitrary omissions of names, and symmetrical arrangement into tessaro-decades, etc., are fully discussed in the works of Mill, Hervey, and Ebrard, quoted above.

B. B. WARFIELD.

The Hebrew Review.—With October, 1880, began the publication of "*The Hebrew Review*" (Cincinnati: Bloch & Co.) and a second Number was published in January of this year. As the title indicates, this quarterly is to be an organ of Jewish thought—it is, in fact, the official organ of the Rabbinical Literary Association of America. The first Number contains an extended account of the

last meeting of the Association, with the full text of some of the papers there presented. From both it is evident that the tone of the *Review* will be that of "Reform Judaism." Five out of the nine articles in the two Numbers expound the Reform beliefs (or non-beliefs). The others are occupied with the Talmud in some form.

To one who has been accustomed to think of Jewish Conservatism some utterances in these pages are sufficiently remarkable. One speaker is reported to have said (at the meeting referred to) that the God of the Bible must give place to the God of Science. A committee of the Association held up as a model for Bible text-books the well-known "Bible for Learners" of Oort and Kuenen. Dr. Wise, in his essay on the Law, reduces the binding regulations of Judaism to the Ten Commandments. Dr. Kohler adopts the critical conclusions of the Dutch school, and traces the history of Judaism through the following (chronologically *successive*) phases: Prophetism, Mosaism, Rabbinism, Modern Judaism. The same writer recommends the study of post-biblical Judaism, saying: "Post-biblical Judaism, the history of Israel's heroic struggle and martyrdom, the lives and teaching of its great men and women, excite far greater wonder and interest, and leave a far deeper impression on the youth than do all the miracle-tales of the Bible—which are valuable and interesting only as prototypes of Israel's history." No wonder that the same writer feels the need of a positive system of modern Jewish theology. Positive systems are hardly likely to arise in conditions that could produce the sentiment quoted above.

The Talmudic articles are mainly translations from the German. Our space does not allow us to describe them at length. The number of Jews in this country is increasing, so that a periodical like this ought to find support. To the Gentile who is interested in the present phases of Jewish life and thought the *Review* will be valuable. Its value might be much increased by a department for book notices—which indeed is promised for the future. H. P. SMITH.

The Homiletical Quarterly, edited by the Rev. J. S. Exell, and published by C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, has entered upon its fifth year with an American editor, the Rev. J. C. Caldwell, D.D., and American publishers, A. D. F. Randolph & Co. We welcome it as an international enterprise with a catholic and evangelical spirit, and cordially recommend it to the attention of our ministers as a periodical containing a large amount of valuable and useful homiletical material at the moderate price of \$2 per year. It is characteristic of our times, that newspapers and periodicals should be multiplied, and this is healthful where they occupy special fields and do their work in a thorough and practical manner. No minister can keep abreast of the thought of the age who neglects periodicals that are really valuable and well conducted in the fields in which he himself is called to labor.

In looking over the January Number for 1881, we notice (I.), *The Homiletical Section*, containing a sermon by E. R. Bickersteth, outlines of sermons by 16 divines, including McCheyne Edgar, Andrew Thomson, and W. Binnie, and a sermon for children by J. Edmond. (II.), *Theological Section*, containing a symposium on the Lord's Supper by Luthardt, De Pressensé, R. F. Littledale, and J. P. Hopps. (III.), *Expository Section*, with valuable notes



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